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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—Frederick Douglass, the well-known negro orator, has arrived in England. In another column will be found a report of the proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the *Leeds Young-Men's Anti-Slavery Society*, at which Mr. Douglass delivered an address. The Rev. R. L. Carpenter, of Halifax, at whose house Mr. Douglass has been staying, states that the latter was concerned in the recent insurrection in the following way only. He is charged by Captain Cook with having abetted the Harper's Ferry insurrection, and then deserted it. But he has informed the American public by a letter, that Captain Cook is wholly unknown to him, and his accusation is untrue. Unless Captain Cook was a person who once called on him with Captain Brown, he does not even know who he is. With Captain Brown Mr. Douglass had long been very intimate, and he entirely approved of his plan of helping the slaves to escape to the mountains, and secure their freedom. He was cognizant of the Harper's Ferry plan; but did his utmost to dissuade him from it. In his anxiety to avert what he deemed an impracticable scheme, he went, about a month before the event, to visit Captain Brown at Chambersburgh, about twenty-eight miles from Harper's Ferry. His arguments were, however, unavailing; and his visit would no doubt be taken as an evidence that he was a party to the plan. He is no way, therefore, mixed up with the in-

surrection, except in so far that he did not betray his knowledge of it; and he is not in any way chargeable with deserting Captain Brown, since Captain Brown well knew that he was opposed to it.

Considerable excitement has been occasioned in anti-slavery circles, by the refusal of the American Ambassador to give passports to a coloured lady and her relatives—close family connections of Miss Remond—who were desirous of travelling to Paris. The *Morning Star* of the 10th ultimo has an able article upon the circumstance, and traces the action of the American Minister to the operation of the Dred Scott decision, according to which coloured persons, of American birth, were adjudged to possess no rights as citizens. The same parties were excluded from the saloon of the steamer on board of which they came, although they had paid first-class fare. They were also subjected to other indignities, which shew that the prejudice against colour, so prevalent in America, is permitted to rule in full force on vessels which are kept afloat by British capital. We quite coincide in the view taken by the writer of the article referred to, that it would be worth while to try in an English court of law, whether the parties so treated cannot recover damages.

The Kaffir "Ned," whose case has appeared in our columns, has been again discharged from custody on the allegation of sheep-stealing, the grand jury having ignored the bill of indictment. He is at present in the house of a gentleman officially connected with the colony of Natal, whither the poor fellow will probably return.

The Revs. Wm. Troy and Wm. Mitchell, recommended by Chief Justice Robinson, of Toronto, are travelling through the country, soliciting aid for the erection of chapels and schools at New Windsor, Canada West, a new negro settlement, where the slaves are finding a refuge from their American task-masters. At New Windsor a church has been organized for the coloured emigrants, the Rev. Mr. Troy being the minister. Mr. Troy is said to be a good specimen of the educated man of colour. He was born into freedom; and although having thus had no experience in his own person of the miseries of Slavery, he has, from inclination and sympathy with the race from which he has sprung, engaged heartily in the work of ministering to their spiritual wants, and aiding in their social elevation. Another free coloured Society has been established at Toronto, presided over by the Rev. Wm. Mitchell. Dr. Willis, of the *Presbyterian College*, and the ministers of several towns in England and Scotland, have identified themselves fully with the object. Mr. Troy was recently in Manchester.

AFRICA.—According to the last advices, the district of the Cameroons was in a very unsettled state in consequence of an anticipated rise of the slave population. Great sacrifice of life was feared. At Bonny, the Regent Illollah Popple had murdered a woman accused of witchcraft, and a civil war was feared in consequence. Another attempt had been made to fire Lagos. Cajoe, King of Accra, had been taken prisoner, and confined in the fort.

Her Majesty's ship *Spitfire* had captured a slaver at Jacmel, with 469 slaves on board.

CHINA.—The *China Overland Trade Report* of the 12th October states that the Coolie slave-trade is now almost restricted to Macao, the government of which settlement foster and protect it in the most bare-faced manner. It is stated that orders have been received from Paris not to allow any more French vessels to embark in this business. No less than eighteen are said to have been equipped from France, for the purpose of taking Coolies to the West Indies. Thus the carrying portion of the traffic has fallen exclusively to the lot of the United States flag, whose consuls grant leave, not only in despite of the dictum of their ex-minister, but also in the face of the assurance conveyed in the most public manner to the Shanghai authorities, on the occasion of the last outbreak, that the trade was unlawful for any citizen of the United States to embark in. One American ship sailed from Macao in the early part of October, with no less than 850 unfortunate beings, and three or four more are "waiting their turn," acting in the mean time as dépôts at Whampoa.

CUBA.—The *New-York Herald* of Decem-

ber 7 states that seven cargoes of slaves had been landed in various parts of Cuba. One cargo from a Baltimore clipper of 350 tons, 560 in number, sold for 800 dollars each, equal to 89,600!. No "free" Coolie had been known to leave Cuba. General Sereno, the new Captain-General, had arrived, and been received at Havana with considerable splendour.

RUSSIA.—A communication from St. Petersburg gives some further account of the steps taken by members of the Russian nobility to influence the Emperor Alexander on the subject of emancipating the serfs. Lately, eighteen delegates of the nobility complained in petition of the secrecy with which the Committee, presided over by General Rostowzoff, surrounded its deliberations. The Emperor gave no answer, and was the more displeased at it that there arrived here a pamphlet, printed in Paris, and addressed to the President of the Commission, Aide-de-Camp General Rostowzoff, making a sharp attack upon that body. This production was published anonymously, but it was pretty well known that M. Davidow-Orloff wrote it. The Emperor charged one of the author's relatives, Prince Bariatinski, to caution M. Orloff, and dissuade him from continuing such a line of conduct, or he might bring down upon himself irreparable misfortune. Lastly, the chamberlain, Michael Desobrazoff, son of the senator of the same name, and nephew of Prince Orloff, lately presented to the Emperor a memorial, in which he endeavoured to warn the Emperor against the evil counsellors about his person, who were leading him and the empire to the brink of a precipice. The Council of the Empire, to which this memorial was submitted, declared its author guilty of high treason. Prince Orloff, as a relative of the accused, abstained from voting. Prince Wasili Dolgorouki and Count Suhouwaloff did not appear at the sitting, and M. Desobrazoff was declared to have forfeited his rank as a noble, to be stript of all his functions, and exiled to Wiatka. The nobility of St. Petersburg intend, at the next elections, to choose M. Davidow-Orloff for their marshal, as a reward for the political courage which he has displayed.

It will thus be seen, that the question of the enfranchisement of the serfs is causing considerable agitation at St. Petersburg. The deputies of the nobles require to be allowed themselves to decide in an affair which interests them so greatly. In consequence, they wish to form a deliberate Committee, and they put forth this pretension in terms which cause the government to fear that this is only a starting-point, and that, if the demand were accorded, they would make others.

UNITED STATES.—The American papers

are filled with the details of the affair of Harper's Ferry, and Captain Brown's execution. We have transferred a collection of extracts to another part of our columns. On the 2nd ultimo, the day of execution, meetings of sympathy with Captain Brown's family, and in aid of it, were held at Boston, New York, and other cities, and also in Montreal. We hope to have room to transfer to our February Number extracts from some of the addresses delivered on the occasion. The Rev. H. W. Beecher, and the Rev. Dr. Cheever, had both borne their testimony to the single-hearted attempt of Captain Brown. Number Three of the first volume of a new journal, called *The Principia*, edited by William Goodell, has reached us. The motto is, "First principles in religion, morals, government, and the Economy of Life." It is admirably written; but we regret that the crowded state of our columns precludes our introducing illustrative extracts. Gerrit Smith, the leader of the Free-Soil party, and the well-known abolitionist, had been placed in a lunatic asylum by his friends. The Harper's Ferry Insurrection, in which he was alleged to be implicated, seems to have been the immediate cause of his sudden derangement. We are, however, glad to add, that according to the latest accounts, his condition had improved, and his friends were looking forward to his recovery with great hopefulness.

The Hon. C. Sumner had arrived at his home, from Europe, in good health, looking well, and not injuriously affected by the sea voyage. A number of his personal and political friends had called upon him. He was about to proceed to Washington.

Both Houses of Congress had assembled at Washington on the 5th ultimo, but as the House of Representatives had not succeeded in organizing, the President's message had not been sent in time for the packet.

The Senate had been opened with the usual formalities, and Mr. Mason, of Virginia, had offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a Select Committee, to make a full and searching investigation into the circumstances connected with the Harper's Ferry outbreak, and also to report what legislation is necessary for the future preservation of the peace of the country and the safety of the public property.

Mr. Trumbull said that he should move to extend the inquiry so as to include an investigation of the circumstances connected with the seizure of the arsenal at Franklin, Missouri, during the Kansas "border ruffian" war.

A Bill has been introduced in the Tennessee Legislature to prevent free negroes from travelling on the railroads in that State. It had passed the first reading. The Bill provides that the President who shall permit

a free negro to travel on any road within the jurisdiction of the State under his supervision, shall pay a fine of 500 dollars; any conductor permitting a violation of the Act shall pay 250 dollars; provided such free negro is not under the control of a free white citizen of Tennessee, who will vouch for the character of said free negro in a penal bond of one thousand dollars.

The Charleston people are calling for a revival of the laws of 1740 and 1783, regulating negro costume, which have been allowed for so long a time to become obsolete, that in matters of dress the distinction between master and slave is abolished.

THE WEST INDIES—Governor Darling had opened the Session of the JAMAICA parliament, and addresses had been presented to him in reply to his speech. The following are extracts from the address of the Legislative Council, from which it will be seen that an alteration is contemplated in the Immigration Law last approved by the Crown, in that most essential part of it which threw two-thirds of the cost of the importation of immigrants upon those who require their labour.

"We recognise with thankfulness the deep interest your Excellency takes in the subject of immigration, which, to a country so thinly peopled as this, must ever be an important one.

"The appointment of a special agent for the colony, possessing local experience and knowledge of agricultural operation both in India and Jamaica, will, we trust, speedily enable us to compete successfully in procuring labourers with the sugar-producing colonies which have for many years past persistently recruited, by these means, their available working population, and have so enhanced their financial resources.

"We concur with your Excellency in opinion, that the stringency by which the whole cost of the importation of the immigrants now falls upon their employers, has limited the number of applications for immigrants, who, whether arriving from India, or China, or from Canada, must prove beneficial to every class of the community. We shall be prepared to give our support to any amendment to the existing laws on the subject."

The House of Assembly, following the same lead, intimates a similar pliant disposition in the subjoined passage:

"We received with pleasure your Excellency's expressed hope that the arrangements which have been made for the transmission of labouring immigrants to the island will speedily place our position in this regard upon a more satisfactory footing, and we gladly learn that the legislative provision for the payment of the cost of importation has been stringently exacted from employers.

"We shall, on revising the statutes on this subject, temperately weigh the advantages which are likely to arise to the colony, and its entire population, by the introduction of Canadian or Chinese labourers."

The Honourable Mr. Jordan had laid

before the House of Assembly a message from the Governor, relative to the public hospital and lunatic asylum, with copies of despatches of Her Majesty's Secretary of State on the same subject, as also a report from the inspector and director of those institutions, in reference to charges made by the Commissioners in Lunacy in England, upon the information of Doctor L. Q. Bowerbank, of improper administration, gross neglect, and improper treatment of inmates. His Excellency earnestly recommends the Honourable House, should they, after such inquiry as they think fit to institute, be of opinion, that (apart from defects of construction, ventilation, and drainage, which an expenditure of public money alone can remedy) even one tithe of the allegations of the Commissioners in Lunacy truly attach to the condition and management of the hospital and lunatic asylum, they will make provision for the appointment of such a commission of inquiry as the Commissioners in Lunacy have recommended and declared to be necessary.

Dr. Bowerbank has very properly protested against such a one-sided course as requiring the director of the institutions named, who is implicated in the charge made by Dr. Bowerbank, to furnish another report as the basis of future proceedings, and he states, that if the framer of the first should repeat the statements on oath, which he has made in it, he will lay himself open to an action for perjury.

The Lieutenant-Governor of GRENADA opened the Legislature on the 18th of October. In his address we find the following remarks on the subject of the ways and means for immigration purposes. As the duty on rum is paid chiefly by the labouring classes, who consume this spirit, it may be estimated, that out of the 4700*l.* recommended to be expended on immigration, they will contribute considerably more than one half, the additional 1500*l.* from the general revenue being taken into account. The Lieutenant-Governor says :

"I would suggest the expenditure of 4700*l.* during the year on immigration, which amount, it is estimated, may be met by the probable revenue from the duty on rum, calculated at 1000*l.*, that from the duties on exports, calculated at 2200*l.*, and by the appropriation of about 1500*l.* from the general revenue. I fear that this will lead to some increase in the taxation, which may, perhaps, be most conveniently done by restoring the tax upon lands to its original rate."

The Money Bill had subsequently been presented and passed.

A good deal of dissatisfaction had been induced in public by intelligence from England that the recent appointments of immigration agent and police magistrate for the western district of the island had been can-

celled by the Secretary for the Colonies, and a Mr. Hickson, late Crown solicitor at Hong-Kong, appointed to both offices. The salaries of these offices are 150*l.* for the immigration agent, and 300*l.* for the police magistrate, and Mr. S. Cockburn and Mr. J. N. Brown had been previously appointed to fill them respectively.

As a coloured man of rare abilities and distinguished public services, Mr. Nibbs Brown has every reason to complain of unfair treatment, let alone that the change does not only appear to be unjustifiable on any ground, but is altogether inconsistent with the salutary objects, in a public point of view, contemplated by the Legislature of the colony, separating the offices of immigration agent and police magistrate. There is also actual cruelty in the sudden dismissal of Mr. Brown, and we trust that His Excellency, Governor Hincks, will represent to the Colonial Secretary, on behalf of Mr. Brown and Mr. S. Cockburn, the impolicy of the change, and act up to the emphatic declaration he made to members of the Assembly, "that in view of the amount of intelligence and other qualities fitting to public employment which he found in Grenada, he would guarantee that no importation to fill up vacancies occurring in official situations here would ever take place while he had the honour of being Governor of the Windward Islands." Both Mr. James Nibbs Brown and Mr. Samuel Cockburn, now victims to the contrary principle, were of the number of those members of Assembly who heard the promise uttered by His Excellency. They are both old fags in the public service. Mr. Brown was fifteen years a member of Assembly; was three years of the Executive Council, and has efficiently and satisfactorily filled nine unsalaried offices of honour and responsibility in the public service; and Mr. Cockburn is a gentleman of distinguished abilities, and has filled with credit several public situations.

The subject has been taken up in the Legislature, from the proceedings of which we submit the following extracts :

"DR. WELLS said, I have thought it my imperative duty to move the House into Committee on the state of the colony, in reference chiefly to the late appointment to the offices of police magistrate and immigration agent. While I would be the last man—in fact, it would be presumption—to interfere in any way with Her Most Gracious Majesty's prerogative; still, when we find the exercise of that prerogative attended with consequences injurious to the public interest, and when we see that an individual has been appointed to fill two distinct offices, it is high time for us to speak. It is high time, also, when we behold our lucrative public offices given to perfect strangers, to the exclusion of colonists equally fit, that we should protest. It is right and proper that, when we see two worthy and com-

petent officers thrust out of situation, we should express our regret and sympathy, and shew that, as an integral part of the empire, we also desire some incentive, some encouragement, and some reward for our labour, our time, and our patriotism. This is no unimportant matter, and only affecting the two individuals. It affects the whole community, and I crave the dispassionate consideration of the Committee to the following subject :

1. This House has learned, with surprise and regret, that Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies has intimated his determination of appointing one person to be sent from England to fill the two incompatible situations of police magistrate for the western district, and immigration agent.

2. While disclaiming any desire or intention to question the right or prerogative of the Crown in its exercise of patronage, this House feels compelled to make known to Her Majesty's Government, through His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, the feelings of regret, apprehension, and disappointment which such intimation has aroused throughout the colony, and which are participated in by this House, and its deep sense of the great injustice inflicted by this sudden act of the Secretary of State.

3. That an address, enclosing a copy of the resolutions, be sent to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, with a request that he will be pleased to forward the same to His Grace the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and soliciting for them the earnest and immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government with a view to the remedying of the evil complained of.

MR. H. R. ALEXANDER having seconded the motion,

MR. KILLIKELLY spoke in opposition, and argued, that to pass the resolutions was an improper interference with the functions of Government. Mr. Brown was only appointed provisionally; and however much honourable members might desire to sympathize with him under the circumstances, he feared that if the House persisted in these resolutions, they might jeopardize the progress of immigration. The Government had determined upon this, that the officers employed to carry out immigration should be unconnected with plantation property. He warned the House not to be carried away by personal feelings into such a dangerous course.

MR. PURCELL stated that he did not object to the union of the offices of police magistrate and immigration agent, if that would confer increased power on the latter officer to punish those Coolies who misbehaved, for the immigration agent here could do nothing but talk, and was often laughed at by the Coolies; whereas the case was quite different in Trinidad: there the agent had authority to hear complaints and punish offenders. He desired to see officers well paid, and then they could have no excuse for neglecting their duties; and where several offices had small salaries, he saw no objection to combining them, so that the officer might be well paid, and then be required to do his duty."

The discussion having been carried on with some animation by Mr. Wells, who

differed from the last speaker, and by Mr. Killikelly, Mr. Simmons rose.

He called attention to the fact, that a promise had been made, and an expectation raised, that individuals who have worked hard in unpaid places of trust and responsibility in the colony should be appointed to paid offices to which they were competent; and thinking it was the duty of the House to give expression to this opinion, he would propose an additional resolution, with the consent of the honourable mover of the others, and the resolutions would then run thus :

1. This House has learned with surprise and regret, that Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies has intimated his determination of appointing *one* person to be sent from England to fill the *two* situations of police magistrate of the western district and immigration agent.

2. This House, having been encouraged to hope that the day had at length arrived when active and useful members of the community would no longer be shut out from enjoying a full share of employment in those paid public situations for which their long experience, business habits, knowledge of our laws, institutions, and customs, rendered them far better qualified than any utter stranger could by probability prove, feels compelled, while disclaiming any desire or intention to question the right and prerogative of the Crown in its exercise of patronage, to make known to Her Majesty's Government, through His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, the feelings of regret and disappointment which such intimation has aroused throughout the colony, and which are participated in by this House, and its due sense of the great injustice inflicted upon the deserving individuals affected by this sudden act of the Secretary of State.

3. That an address, enclosing a copy of these resolutions, be sent to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, with a request that he will be pleased to forward the same to His Grace the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and soliciting for them the earnest and immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the remedying of the evil complained of."

Ultimately the motion was carried by a majority of twelve to eight.

CAPTAIN BROWN OF HARPER'S FERRY.

We have collated from various sources a few paragraphs relating to the unfortunate Captain Brown, who forfeited his life on the 2nd ultimo, at Charleston, for his participation in the Harper's Ferry tragedy. The case being one which will form an era in the history of the anti-slavery struggle in the United States, and presenting features strikingly illustrative of the various phases through which it is passing, we offer no apology for the length of the extracts, feeling satisfied they contain much that will place the character of Captain Brown in a new and most interesting light. Had his plan succeeded, he would have been regarded as a hero. He

failed, and is, by the laws of his country, branded as a traitor and a felon; but there are doubtless many thousands of his countrymen and our own, who look upon him as a martyr to the cause of negro freedom.

The following is from Dickens' *Once a Week*, and describes the scene of the tragedy:

HARPER'S FERRY.

"Harper's Ferry is a singularly beautiful spot, at the entrance of the Alleghanies, where the two great rivers, the Potomac and the Shenandoah, form a junction, and treat the traveller with the last chorus of many waters before he enters upon the retreats of the mountain range. Thither come the farmers of Western Virginia, when they have to enter upon the lower world; and thither come the Maryland and Lower-Virginian slaveholders when they want to pass westwards, or to seek a cool temperature in summer. It is just within the Virginian frontier, and precisely where Maryland is narrowest, so that Pennsylvania may be reached in a few hours. Thither came old Brown, a year or more ago, after having buried his sons, and laid low his enemies in Kansas, and seen the soil safe from the intrusion of slavery, and put the Missouri people in the way of getting rid of what remained of the curse in their territory. It appears that he believed it to be the duty of his life to go wherever he could most effectually repeat this kind of effort. So he went to Harper's Ferry, where, close upon Pennsylvania, where the free blacks are very flourishing, he could operate at once upon Maryland and Virginia. If he had wished to raise a servile war, he would have gone down to the cotton States; but, as he says, he had no desire to kindle such horrors. He wished to free the slaves without bloodshed; that is, by running them off. For a year he has lived, with two or three coadjutors, at a farm near Harper's Ferry, maturing his schemes, and collecting arms and other resources for holding the ground while the negroes ran."

ANECDOTE OF JOHN BROWN.

"John Brown emigrated from here to Kansas. A prominent citizen of Warren County was an apprentice of his in Crawford County, and tells many facts illustrating his integrity and nobleness of heart, one of which runs thus—'Having heard that a poor man, with a large family, was suffering for the necessities of life, he sent me to his house to inform him that John Brown would sell him provisions on credit. He came at once, and got about thirty dollars' worth, agreeing to pay in work the next summer; but with summer came other calls for his labour than the payment of old debts; so he came to Brown and frankly told him his situation, and that it would be impossible to pay as agreed upon. The noble old man said to him, 'Go home, and take care of your family, and let me hear no more about this debt. It is a part of my religion to assist those in distress, and to comfort those who mourn.'"

LETTERS FROM JOHN BROWN IN PRISON.

"Several letters written by Brown since his con-

dition have been published. To a young friend he wrote:

"I go joyfully in behalf of millions that 'have no rights' that this great and glorious, this Christian Republic, is 'bound to respect.'"

To the Rev. H. L. Vail, of Lichfield, Conn., to whom he went to school in 1817, he wrote thus:

"Charlestown, Va., Nov. 15, 1859.

"Rev. H. L. Vail—My dear, stedfast friend,—Your most kind and most welcome letter of the 8th inst. reached me in due time.

"I am very grateful for all the good feeling you express, and also for the kind counsels you give, together with your prayers on my behalf. Allow me here to say, notwithstanding 'my soul is amongst lions,' still I believe that 'God in every deed is with me.' You will not, therefore, feel surprised when I tell you that I am 'joyful in my tribulations,' that I do not feel condemned of Him whose judgment is just, nor of my own conscience. Nor do I feel degraded by my imprisonment, my chain, or prospect of the gallows. I have not only been (though utterly unworthy), permitted to 'suffer affliction with God's people,' but have also had a great many rare opportunities for 'preaching righteousness in the great congregation.' I trust it will not all be lost. The jailer (in whose charge I am), and his family and assistants, have all been most kind; and notwithstanding he was one of the bravest of all who fought me, he is now abused for his humanity. So far as my observation goes, none but brave men are likely to be humane to a fallen foe. 'Cowards prove their courage by their ferocity.' It may be done in that way with but little risk.

"I wish I could write you about a few only of the interesting times I here experience with different classes of men, clergymen among others. Christ, the greatest Captain of liberty as well as of salvation, and who began his mission, as foretold of him, by proclaiming it, saw fit to take from me a sword of steel after I had carried it for a time; but he has put another in my hand ('the sword of the Spirit'), and I pray God to make me a faithful soldier, wherever He may send me, not less on the scaffold than when surrounded by my warmest sympathizers.

"My dear old friend, I do assure you I have not forgotten our last meeting, nor our retrospective look over the route by which God had then led us; and I bless his name that He has again enabled me to hear your words of cheering and comfort at a time when I, at least, am on the 'brink of Jordan,' (see Bunyan's Pilgrim). God in infinite mercy grant us soon another meeting on the opposite shore. I have often passed under the rod of Him whom I call my Father; and certainly no son ever needed it oftener, and yet I have enjoyed much of life, as I was enabled to discover the secret of this somewhat early. It has been in making the prosperity and happiness of others my own; so that really I have had a great deal of prosperity. I am very prosperous still, and looking forward to a time when 'peace on earth and goodwill to men' shall everywhere prevail. I have no murmuring thoughts or envious feelings to fret my

my mind. 'I'll praise my Maker with my breath.'

"I am an unworthy nephew of Deacon John, and I loved him much; and in view of the many choice friends I have had here, I am led the more earnestly to pray, 'Gather not my soul with the unrighteous.'

"Your assurances of the earnest sympathy of the friends in my native land is very grateful to my feelings, and allow me to say a word of comfort to them:

"As I believe most firmly that God reigns, I cannot believe that any thing I have done, suffered, or may yet suffer, will be lost to the cause of God or of humanity. And before I began my work at Harper's Ferry, I felt assured that, in the worst event, it would certainly pay. I often expressed that belief; and I can now see no possible cause to alter my mind. I am not as yet in the main at all disappointed. I have been a good deal disappointed as it regards myself in not keeping up to my own plans; but I now feel entirely reconciled to that even; for God's plan was infinitely better, no doubt, or I should have kept to my own. Had Samson kept to his determination of not telling Delilah wherein his great strength lay, he would probably have never overthrown the house. I did not tell Delilah, but I was induced to act very contrary to my better judgment, and I have lost my two noble boys, and other friends, if not my two eyes.

"But 'God's will, not mine, be done.' I feel a comfortable hope that, like that erring servant of whom I have just been writing, even I may (through infinite mercy in Christ Jesus) yet 'die in faith.' As to both the time and manner of my death, I have but very little trouble on that score, and am able to be (as you exhort) of 'good cheer.'

"I send through you my best wishes to Mrs. W—— and her son George, and to all dear friends. May the God of the poor and oppressed be the God and Saviour of you all. Farewell, till we meet again. Your friend in truth,

JOHN BROWN."

BROWN'S LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

The following is a copy of a letter written by Brown to his wife, in reference to her proposed visit to him:—

"Charlestown, Jefferson Co., Va.,
"16th Nov. 1859.

"My dear Wife,—I write you in answer to a most kind letter of November 13th, from dear Mrs. Spring. I owe her ten thousand thanks, for her kindness to you particularly, and more especially than for what she has done, and is doing in a more direct way for me personally. Although I feel grateful for every expression of kindness or sympathy towards me, yet nothing can so effectually minister to my comfort as acts of kindness done to relieve the wants or mitigate the sufferings of my poor distressed family. May God Almighty and their own consciousness be their eternal rewarders. I am exceedingly rejoiced to have you make the acquaintance, and be surrounded by such choice friends, as I have long known some of those to be with whom you are staying, by reputation. I am most glad to have you meet with one of a family (or I would rather

say of two families), most beloved and never to be forgotten by me. I mean dear gentle——. Many and many a time has she, her father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncle, and aunt (like angels of mercy), ministered to the wants of myself and my poor sons, both in sickness and in health. Only last year I lay sick for quite a number of weeks with them, and was cared for by all, as though I had been a most affectionate brother or father. Tell her that I ask God to bless and reward them all for ever. 'I was a stranger, and they took me in.' It may possibly be that —— would like to copy this letter, and send it to her home. If so, by all means let her do so. I would write them if I had the power.

"Now let me say a word about the efforts to educate our daughters. I am no longer able to provide means to help towards that object, and it therefore becomes me not to dictate in the matter. I shall gratefully submit the direction of the whole thing to those whose generosity may lead them to undertake in their behalf, while I give anew a little expression of my own choice respecting it. You, my wife, perfectly well know that I have always expressed a decided preference for a very plain but perfectly practical education for both sons and daughters. I do not mean an education so very miserable as that you and I received in early life, nor as some of our children enjoyed. When I say plain but practical, I mean enough of the learning of the schools to enable them to transact the common business of life comfortably and respectably, together with that thorough training to good business habits which best prepares both men and women to be useful though poor, and meet the stern realities of life with a good grace. You well know that I always claimed that the music of the broom, washtub, needle, spindle, loom, axe, scythe, hoe, flail, &c., should first be learned at all events, and the piano, &c., afterwards. I put them in that order as most conducive to health of body and mind; and for the obvious reason, that after a life of some experience and much observation, I have found ten women as well as ten men who have made their mark in life right, whose early training was of that plain, practical kind, to one who had a more popular and fashionable early training. But enough of that.

"Now, in regard to your coming here, if you feel sure that you can endure the trials and the shock, which will be unavoidable if you come, I shall be glad to see you once more; but when I think of you being insulted on the road, and perhaps while here, and of only seeing your wretchedness made complete, I shrink from it. Your composure and fortitude of mind may be quite equal to it all, but I am in dreadful doubt of it. If you do come, defer your journey till about the 27th or 28th of this month. The scenes which you will have to pass through on coming here will be any thing but those you now pass with tender, kindhearted friends, and kind faces to meet you everywhere. Do consider the matter well before you make the plunge. I think I had better say no more on this most painful subject. My health improves a little; my mind is very tranquil, I may say joyous, and I continue to receive every kind attention that I have any possible need of. I wish you to send copies of all my

letters to all our poor children. What I write to one must answer for all, till I have more strength. I get numerous kind letters from friends in almost all directions to encourage me to be of good cheer, and I still have, as I trust, the peace of God to rule in my heart. May God, for Christ's sake, ever make his face to shine on you all.—Your affectionate husband, JOHN BROWN."

JOHN BROWN'S LAST LETTER TO HIS FAMILY.

A letter of Brown's has been published, in which he expressed doubts as to the propriety of his wife visiting him in prison to bid him farewell. It is probable that the subjoined letter to her and their children was written under the belief that no interview between them would take place.

"Charlestown Prison, Jefferson Co., Va.,
"Nov. 30, 1859.

"My dearly-beloved Wife, Sons, and Daughters, every one—As I now begin what is probably the last letter I shall ever write to any of you, I conclude to write to all at the same time. I will mention some little matters particularly applicable to little property concerns in another place.

"I recently received a letter from my wife, from near Philadelphia, dated Nov. 22, by which it would seem that she was about giving up the idea of seeing me again. I had written her to come on if she felt equal to the undertaking, but I do not know that she will get my letter in time. It was on her own account chiefly that I asked her to stay back. At first I had a most strong desire to see her again, but there appeared to be very serious objections; and should we never meet in this life, I trust that she will in the end be satisfied it was for the best at least, if not most for her comfort. I enclosed in my last letter to her a draft of fifty dollars from John Jay, made payable to her order. I have now another to send her, from my excellent old friend, Edward Harris, of Woonsocket, R. I., for one hundred dollars, which I shall also make payable to her order.

"I am waiting the hour of my public murder with great composure of mind and cheerfulness, feeling the strong assurance that in no other possible way could I be used to so much advantage to the cause of good and of humanity, and that nothing that either I or all my family have sacrificed or suffered will be lost. The reflection that a wise and merciful, as well as just and holy God, rules not the affairs of this world, but of all worlds, is a rock to set our feet upon under all circumstances, even these more severely trying ones in which our own feelings and wrongs have placed us. I have now no doubt but that our seeming disaster will ultimately result in the most glorious success: so, my dear shattered and broken family, be of good cheer, and believe and trust in God with all your heart and with all your soul: for He doeth all things well. Do not feel ashamed on my account, nor for one moment despair of the cause or grow weary of well-doing. I bless God I never felt stronger confidence in the certain and near approach of a bright morning and a glorious day than I have felt, and do now feel, since my confinement here. I am endeavouring to return, like a poor prodigal son as I

am, to my Father, against whom I have always sinned, in the hope that He may kindly and forgivingly meet me, though a very great way off.

"Oh, my dear wife and children, would to God you could know how I have been travailing in birth for you all, that none of you may fail of the grace of God.

"Through Jesus Christ—that no one of you may be blind to the truth and glorious light of his word, in which life and immortality are brought to light—I beseech you every one to make the Bible your daily and nightly study, with a childlike, honest, candid, teachable spirit of love and respect for your husband and father.

"And I beseech the God of my fathers to open all your eyes to the discovery of the truth. You cannot imagine how much you may soon need the consolations of the Christian religion. Oh, do not trust your eternal all upon the boisterous ocean without even a helm or compass to aid you in steering. I do not ask any of you to throw away your reason: I only ask you to make a candid, sober use of your reason.

"My dear younger children, will you listen to this last poor admonition of one who can only love you? Oh, be determined at once to give your whole heart to God, and let nothing shake or alter that resolution. You need have no fears of regretting it. Do not be vain and thoughtless, but sober-minded; and let me entreat you all to love the whole remnant of our once great family. Try and build up again your broken walls, and to make the utmost of every stone that is left. Nothing can so tend to make life a blessing as the consciousness that your life and example bless and leave you the stronger. Still, it is ground of the utmost comfort to my mind to know that so many of you as have had the opportunity have given some proof of your fidelity to the great family of men. Be faithful unto death: from the exercise of habitual love to man it cannot be very hard to learn to love his Maker.

"I must yet insert the reason for my firm belief in the divine inspiration of the Bible, notwithstanding I am perhaps naturally sceptical, certainly not credulous. I wish all to consider it most thoroughly when you read that blessed book, and see whether you cannot discover such evidence yourselves. It is the purity of heart, filling our minds as well as work and actions, which is everywhere insisted on, that distinguishes it from all the teachings, that commends it to my conscience. Whether my heart be willing and obedient or not, the inducement that it holds out is another reason of my convictions of its truth and genuineness. But I do not here omit this my last argument on the Bible, that eternal life is what my soul is panting after this moment. I mention this as a reason for endeavouring to leave a valuable copy of the Bible, to be carefully preserved in remembrance of me.

"I beseech you all to live in habitual contentment with moderate circumstances and gains of worldly store, and earnestly to teach this to your children, and children's children after you, by example as well as precept. Be determined to know by experience, as soon as may be, whether Bible instruction is of divine origin or not. Be sure to owe no man any thing, but to love one another. John Rogers wrote to his

children, 'Abhor that arrant whore of Rome.' John Brown writes to his children to abhor, with undying hatred also, that sum of all villainies—Slavery. Remember, he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth in spirit than he that taketh a city. Remember, also, that they, being wise, shall shine, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.

"And now, dearly beloved family, to God and the work of his grace I commend you all. Your affectionate husband and father,

"JOHN BROWN."

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR WISE TO MR. BROWN.

"Richmond, Va., Nov. 16, 1859.

"To Mrs. Mary A. Brown, now in Philadelphia. Madam,—Yours of the 21st inst., addressed to me from Philadelphia, came to my hand this morning. Believe me, madam, that I sadly thank you for your trust in my feelings as a man. Your situation touches those feelings deeply. Sympathizing as I do with your affliction, you shall have the exertion of my authority and personal influence to assist you in gathering up the bones of your sons and your husband in Virginia for decent and tender interment among their kindred. I am happy, madam, that you seem to have the wisdom and virtue to appreciate my position of duty. Would to God that public consideration could avert his doom, for the Omniscient knows that I take not the slightest pleasure in the execution of any whom the laws condemn. May He have mercy on the erring and the afflicted. Enclosed is an order to Major-General Wm. B. Taliaferro, in command at Charlestown, Va., to deliver to your order the mortal remains of your husband when all shall be over, to be delivered to your agent at Harper's Ferry, and if you attend the reception in person, to guard you sacredly in your solemn mission. With tenderness and truth, I am, very respectfully, your humble servant,

"HENRY A. WISE."

WHAT BROWN INTENDED DOING.

"Old Brown thought only of freeing as many negroes as he could reach, and he attempted it in a wild sort of way, from which anybody whom he had consulted would have augured nothing but failure and destruction. Destruction to his own life will apparently be the result. He is sentenced to death; and will probably become a martyr, idolized by all negroes. But a failure his scheme is not. This is partly owing to his having applied an unexpected test to the security of a slaveholding society, under the circumstances of the time; and more, perhaps, to the influence of his personal bearing on all witnesses. At first, he was with difficulty preserved from death at the hands of the citizens, though he lay on the ground wounded. By degrees, one citizen after another became interested in what he said, and inquisitive about what he thought. In a few hours the great work was done;—he had opened a new world to a whole community. The Governor, honourable senators, chief citizens of every class, approached the old yeoman with deference, with gentleness, with overwhelming interest. They ceased to reproach him, and perhaps to pity him; and people out of doors began to think them bewitched. All this was because of

the great discovery he had been the occasion of their making. What was this discovery? It was that a robust-minded yeoman—a God-fearing man, reared in the primitive course of Bible study, who was pure from worldly aims, actually believed the personal freedom of men of any race a cause worth living and dying for. Under the coerced press, and the restricted preaching and literature of the Slave States, such a notion had never found entrance to the understanding of the citizens, who had fancied all abolitionists to be thieves and cowards. Old Brown's devotedness to his cause and his indifference to his own fate at once fascinated every generous-minded man who came near him. His new admirers would have deferred his trial till he could obtain counsel of his own choice, and till he had somewhat recovered from his wounds—wounds in the head, which at times impaired his memory; but the affrighted community would hear of no delay, and old Brown was carried on his bed into court. My readers have probably seen some account of his trial; and have registered in their minds his short speech on receiving his sentence of death. The voice and manner of that speech will no more be forgotten on the spot than the matter and the words."—*Once a Week.*

MRS. BROWN'S VISIT TO HER HUSBAND.

The Charlestown correspondent of the *Boston Courier* writes on the 2nd of December—

"Mrs. Brown was escorted over from the Ferry at three o'clock, when the entire military were brought out to make a demonstration. She was received with full military honours, but her companions were not allowed to accompany her from the Ferry. After remaining four hours with her husband she was escorted back to the Ferry at nine o'clock, there to await the reception of her husband's body. The interview between Brown and his wife lasted from four o'clock in the afternoon until near eight in the evening, when General Taliaferro informed them that the period allowed had elapsed, and that she must prepare for departure to the Ferry. A carriage was again brought to the door, the military took possession of the square, and, with an escort of twenty mounted men, the carriage moved off, Captain Moore, of the Montgomery Guards, accompanying her. The interview was, I learn, not a very interesting one, rather of a practical character—with regard to the future of herself and children, and the arrangement and settlement of business affairs. They seemed considerably affected when they first met, and Mrs. Brown was for a few moments quite overcome, but Brown was as firm as a rock, and she soon recovered her composure. There was an impression that the prisoner might possibly be furnished with a weapon or strychnine by his wife, and, before the interview, her person was searched by the wife of the gaoler. A strict watch was kept over them during the time they were together. At the time of the separation they both seemed to be fully self-possessed, and the parting, especially on his part, exhibited a composure, either feigned or real, that was surprising. I learn from Captain Moore that she rather repelled all attempts on his part to express sympathy with her under her afflictions. She resented

the idea that Captain Brown had done any thing to deserve death or to attaint his name with dis-honour, and declared that the ignominious character of the punishment that was about to be inflicted upon him was as cruel as it was unjust. She regarded him as a martyr in a righteous cause, and was proud to be the wife of such a man. The gallows, she said, had no terrors for her or for him. She stated that she had not seen him since last June, about six months ago, and that they had been separate, with the exception of a few days, for nearly two years. They had, however, corresponded, and she had always felt a deep interest in the cause in which he was engaged. The character of the interview may be judged to some extent from this conversation with Captain Moore, which took place previous to it. I learn from Captain Avis, the gaoler, that the interview between the prisoner and his wife was characteristic of the man, and the direction given for the management and distribution of his property embraced all the minor details of his last will and testament. General Taliaferro was also present; and Captain Brown urged that his wife be allowed to remain with him all night. To this the General refused assent, allowing them but four hours. On first meeting they kissed and affectionately embraced, and Mrs. Brown shed a few tears, but immediately checked her feelings. They stood embraced, and she sobbed for nearly five minutes, and he was apparently unable to speak. The prisoner only gave way for a moment, and was soon calm and collected, and remained firm throughout the interview. At the close they shook hands but did not embrace: as they parted he said, 'God bless you and the children.' Mrs. Brown replied, 'God have mercy upon you,' and continued calm until she left the room, when she remained in tears a few moments, and then prepared to depart. The interview took place in the parlour of Captain Avis, and the prisoner was free from manacles of any kind. They sat side by side on a sofa, and, after discussing family matters, proceeded to business. He stated that he desired his property to pass entirely into her possession, and appeared to place full confidence in her ability to manage it properly for the benefit of his younger children. He requested her to remain at North Elba, New York, on her farm, where she now resides, and which belongs to her. He desired that his younger children should be educated, and if she could not obtain facilities for their education at home, to have them sent to a boarding-school. He then gave directions, and dictated to Sheriff Campbell a will, which directed that all his property should go to his wife, with the exception of a few presents and bequests which he made. To one of his sons he gave a double spyglass, and to another a watch, while a third was directed to take a tombstone or monument that marks the grave of his father at North Elba, and have his name, age, and the manner of his death, together with the cause for which he had suffered, cut upon it. He directs that it shall remain at North Elba as long as his family resides there. To each of his children he bequeathed the sum of 50 dols., and to each of his daughters a Bible, to cost 5 dols., to be purchased out of money coming to him from

his father's estate. He also directs that a Bible, to cost 3 dols., shall be presented to each of his grandchildren, and that 50 dols. each be paid to three individuals whom he named, if they could be found; if not, to their legal representatives. During the conversation Mrs. Brown asked if he had heard that Gerrit Smith had become insane, and had been sent to the Asylum at Utica? He replied that he had read it in the papers, and was sorry to hear it, but immediately changed the subject. The subject of the death of his two sons was spoken of, and Mrs. Brown remarked that she had made some effort, whilst at Harper's Ferry, for the recovery of their bodies, to which object she said Colonel Barbour had kindly consented to give his assistance. Captain Brown remarked that he would also like the remains of the two Thompsons removed, if they could be found, but suggested that it would be best to take his body with the bodies of his four sons, and get a pile of pine-logs and burn them altogether; that it would be much better and less expensive to thus gather up all their ashes together and take them to their final resting-place. Sheriff Campbell told him that this would not be allowed within the State, and Mrs. Brown objected to the proposition altogether. The prisoner said he contemplated his death with composure and calmness. It would undoubtedly be pleasant to live longer, but as it was the will of God he should close his career, he was content. It was doubtless best that he should be thus legally murdered for the good of the cause, and he was prepared to submit to his fate without a murmur. Mrs. Brown becoming depressed at these remarks, he bade her cheer up, telling her that his spirit would soon be with her again, and that they would be reunited in heaven. With regard to his execution, he said that he desired no religious ceremonies, either in the gaol or on the scaffold, from ministers who consent or approve of the enslavement of their fellow-creatures; that he would prefer rather to be accompanied to the scaffold by a dozen slave-children and a good old slave-mother, with their appeal to God for blessings on his soul, than all the eloquence of the whole clergy of the commonwealth combined. During the past week several letters, containing cheques and drafts, have been forwarded to him by his friends in different sections of the country. These he endorsed, and made payable to his wife, Mary A. Brown, and handed them to her."

CAPTAIN BROWN ON THE SCAFFOLD.

"Coolly and bravely, and with as much apparent unconcern as if he were about to address a political meeting, he mounts the scaffold, advances forward, takes off his hat, runs his hand through his bushy grey locks, and then turns round and shakes hands with the sheriff. Without a moment's delay the rope is placed round his neck, his arms more securely pinioned, his feet tied, and a long white linen cowl drawn over his face. In that attitude, erect as a drill sergeant, motionless as a statue—with not the slightest visible tremor or agitation—not the most insignificant manifestation of fear—he stood for fully twelve minutes, while the troops were taking up their positions in the various parts of the field. His

face was toward the south; the sun shone warmly upon him, and the pleasant breeze played about him for the last time. But he was kept waiting very unnecessarily long—kept waiting until all the companies had marched and countermarched to the positions assigned to them respectively. And then, instead of a preconcerted signal, the officer of the day shouted to the sheriff twice—so that the prisoner could hear him—‘All right, Mr. Campbell. All right, Mr. Campbell.’ Before the lapse of another moment, and at exactly twenty-five minutes past eleven, the drop rope was cut by the sheriff, the trap fell, and John Brown was hanging between heaven and earth. The fall was not nearly great enough—it was hardly a foot. Some slight muscular action and a spasmodic clenching of the hands were all the signs of life that the dying man gave, and yet it was supposed that four or five minutes must have passed before life was extinct.”—*New-York Herald.*

THE EXECUTION.

“On his way to the scaffold, a Mr. Sadler, an undertaker, who was in the waggon with him, remarked: ‘Captain Brown, you are a game man.’ He answered, ‘Yes, I was so trained up. It was one of the lessons of my mother; but it is hard to part from friends, though newly made. This is a beautiful country: I never had the pleasure of seeing it before.’

“On reaching the field where the gallows was erected, the prisoner said, ‘Why are none but the military allowed in the enclosure? I am sorry citizens have been put out.’ On reaching the gallows, he observed Mr. Hunter and Major Green standing near, to whom he said, ‘Gentlemen, good bye, his voice not faltering.

“While on the scaffold, Sheriff Campbell asked him if he would take a handkerchief in his hand to drop as a signal when he was ready. He said, ‘No, I do not want it.’ Avis and Sheriff Campbell stood by his side, and bidding an affectionate adieu, he thanked them for their kindness. The cap was then put upon his face and the rope around his neck. Avis asked him to step forward on the trap. He replied, ‘You must lead me; I cannot see.’ The rope was adjusted, and the military order given, ‘Not ready yet.’ The soldiers marched, countermarched, and took position as if an enemy were in sight, and were thus occupied for nearly ten minutes. The prisoner standing all the time, Avis inquired if he was not tired. Brown said, ‘No, not tired; but don’t keep me waiting longer than necessary.’ He was swung off at fifteen minutes past eleven. A slight grasping of the hands and twitching of the muscles was seen, and then all was quiet. The body was several times examined, and the pulse did not cease until thirty-five minutes had passed. The body was then cut down, placed in a coffin, and conveyed, under military escort, to the dépôt, where it was put into a car to be conveyed to the Ferry by a special train at four o’clock. All the arrangements were carried out with a precision and military strictness that was most annoying. The general conviction everywhere entertained was that the excitement about the rescue was an egregious hoax.”

INCENDIARY FIRES.

“Shortly after the execution, and whilst the body

was being taken to the dépôt, great excitement was raised by the arrival of a horseman announcing that Wheatland, the late residence of George W. Turner, who was shot at Harper’s Ferry, was on fire, and that the fire was extending to the farm and out-buildings of Mr. William F. Turner. The latter, who was in town, said that he had left home at ten o’clock in the morning, and that several of his horses had died very suddenly, and also some of his sheep. He intended to have their stomachs analyzed, as he believed they had been poisoned. The stock of Mr. Castleman and Mr. Myers, in the same neighbourhood, had also died very mysteriously. The excitement caused by this was very great. Colonel Davis had the Taquier Cavalry in readiness to go out and inquire into the truth of the report about the fire.

“The body of Brown arrived by the special train, and will be taken on by Mrs. Brown and friends direct to Albany. It is desired to avoid all public demonstrations, and it is determined that the body shall not be visible anywhere on the route to North Elba, where it will be deposited in the family burying-ground.

“Mrs. Brown speaks in the highest terms of the great kindness shewn her by the citizens and authorities of the State. She is, of course, in great distress. She has most favourably impressed all who have met her as a woman of fine feeling and of great affection for her husband.”

SYMPATHY FOR BROWN.

“In several parts of the union there were strong demonstrations of sympathy for Brown on the day of execution. An immense meeting was held at Tremont Temple, Boston. A large number of placards were exhibited in different parts of the hall with the sayings of Washington, Jefferson, Lafayette, and John Brown thereon, all relating to the question of Slavery. On the front part of the stand, on the platform, there was a cross of evergreens, and a picture of John Brown with an evergreen wreath around it. Back of this there was a large banner, with the coat of arms of the State of Virginia, and below it the words ‘Be it ever to tyrants.’ A portion of the coloured people appeared in the streets with crape on their arms, or crape rosettes on their breasts. At several places the church bells were tolled from ten to twelve o’clock in the morning, and at Albany 100 minute guns were fired.”

THE BODY OF CAPTAIN BROWN.

“The New-York reporters give a description of the body of the martyr when it reached that city. Upon opening the coffin, which was the same box that the deceased rode upon to his execution, he was found just as he had been lowered from the gallows. The clothing which he had on was removed, and the body placed on ice. During the afternoon it was found to be sufficiently frozen to admit of being placed in the coffin for burial. He was laid out in a neat white shroud, with pleated trimmings, and white cravat. The coffin was of solid rosewood, but bore no plate. The appearance of the body had every indication of the deceased being, as it were, in a deep sleep. The upper portion of the face was quite flushed, the eyes were quite red, espe-

cially under the right eye, and seemed like a bruise. The mark of the rope is visible on the left side of the neck and under the ear. His whiskers have been neatly turned, and his hair was combed back, having a rather stiff appearance. Altogether his appearance is that of one sleeping. Quite a number called to see the body, but only a few of his most intimate friends were admitted. It was placed in a rear or outhouse, used as a carpenter's room, and was enclosed in a white pine box. It will be taken this morning, by the seven o'clock Hudson-River railroad train, to North Elba. The box which the corpse was brought in was about six feet in length, and where his head rested was considerable blood, which had oozed out of his ears. Mrs. Brown has not seen the body of her husband since the execution. She arrived in the city, and will accompany the corpse to North Elba."

JOHN BROWN'S WILL.

"Charlestown, Va., Dec. 1.

"I give to my son, John Brown, junior, my surveying compass and other surveyors' articles, if found; also my old favourite monument now at North Elba, New York, to receive upon its two sides a further inscription, such as I will hereafter write; said stone monument, however, to remain at North Elba as long as any of my children, or my wife, may remain there as residents.

"I give to my son, Jason Brown, my silver watch, with my name engraved on the inner case.

"I give to my son, Owen Brown, my double spy opera glass and my rifle, if found, presented to me at Worcester, Mass. It is globe-sighted and new.

"I give also to the said son fifty dollars in cash, to be paid him from the proceeds of my father's estate, as an offset to the two first cases above-named.

"I give to my daughter, Ruth Thompson, my very large Bible, containing family records.

"I give to each of my sons and each of my other daughters, my son-in-law, Henry Thompson, and to each of my daughters-in-law, as good a copy of the Bible as can be purchased at any book-store in New York or Boston, at a cost of five dollars each in cash, to be paid out of my father's estate.

"I give to each of my grandchildren that may be living when my father's estate is settled, as good a copy of the Bible as can be purchased at a cost of three dollars each, and all the Bibles to be purchased for cash on the best terms.

"I desire to have fifty dollars paid out of the final proceeds of my father's estate to the following named persons, to wit:

"To Allen Hammond, of Rockville, Tolland County, Connecticut.

"To George Kellogg, former agent of the New-England Company, of that place, for the use and benefit of that Company.

"Also, fifty dollars to Silas Havens, formerly of Twinsburg, Summit County, Ohio, if he can be found.

"Also, fifty dollars to a man, formerly of Stark County, Ohio, who sued my father in his lifetime, through Judge Humphrey, and Mr. Upson, of Akron, to be paid by J. R. Brown to the man in

person, if he can be found. His name I cannot remember. My father made a compromise with the man by turning him out a house and lot at Monroeville.

"I desire that any remaining balance that may become due from my father's estate may be paid in equal amounts to my wife and each of my children, and to the widows of Watson and Oliver Brown by my brother.

"JOHN BROWN, Sen."

THE IMPUDENCE OF AMERICAN REPORTERS.

"During yesterday Mrs. Brown kept her room. Several persons, members of the press in particular, anxiously sought interviews with her, but the gentlemen who accompanied her invariably objected. She is not disposed to be communicative, and is said to be particularly reserved when aware of the presence of any one connected with the press. I was one of a party of three gentlemen who were admitted to her room last night. She was seated near a table in the centre of the room as we entered. One of her male companions, through whom we had secured the privilege of an interview, introduced each of us as we went in, after which we all took seats. A gentleman connected with a New-York illustrated journal took a position immediately opposite her at the table. He commenced a conversation with her by asking if she had an interview with Mr. Brown. She replied that she had. 'Did he seem to be in good spirits?' asked the gentleman. She said, 'Yes; he expressed a wish that God would be with her, and assured her that God was with him.' The next question was, 'Did he receive you warmly, madam?' She answered in the affirmative, and then rose from her seat, and, removing back from her interrogator towards the bed, held down her head and began to weep. At this time the gentleman who introduced us interposed, and said he would allow no more questions to be asked. We all then left the room, leaving her and her lady companion together." — *New-York Herald* Reporter.

THE LIFE OF JOHN BROWN.

"Lydia Maria Child is to write the life of John Brown, on behalf of his family. No better choice could be made, and it is to be hoped that the announcement will prevent the publication of other biographies by incompetent persons. Mrs. Child, we understand, is already in possession of all the facts and incidents of John Brown's earlier history, which she has only to complete by the story of his later career. The book, no one can doubt, will be quite worthy of its subject, and the event that will have called it forth." — *Toronto Globe*.

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

At the quarterly meeting of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society*, recently held, the Secretaries had a large amount of communications to present, and a numerous company of ladies assembled. A letter had been received from Mr. W. Bailey,

editor of the *Free South* newspaper in Kentucky, whose house had been afresh assailed by a mob, plundered of a considerable sum of money, the lives of his wife and daughters endangered, and the type for his paper thrown into Ohio. The pretext for this outrage was the supposed implication in the Harper's Ferry affair, although there was not the slightest evidence to justify such an impression. Bailey is determined to persevere in his extraordinary efforts in establishing freedom of discussion in Kentucky. A special contribution of 25*l.*, raised by some members of the Society, is just remitted in aid of this enterprise; and further assistance towards this noble object is highly desirable. An address was read from Edinburgh, issued by ministers and other influential gentlemen, on behalf of Dr. Cheever, whose congregation is so diminished by his outspoken sentiments on Slavery, and his efforts to rouse the church to their duty on that subject, that he is passing this, a fiery struggle, to maintain his position as pastor of the *Puritan Church* in New York. Circulars of an anti-slavery bazaar, intended to be held at Halifax (Yorkshire) in the spring, were handed round, at which it is expected Frederick Douglass will be present. He has been invited to this country by the friends of the anti-slavery cause, to lecture on the subject. The eloquence of his addresses during his former visit is still fresh in the remembrance of the public. The sufferings and perils endured of late by the slaves, in their escape to Canada, awakened the liveliest interest; and instances which were read of the liberation of slaves by upright and noble-hearted owners, and the efforts of others, when in embarrassed circumstances, to prevent their slaves being sold to the South, were listened to with feelings of the highest satisfaction. A paper on the increase of the growth of African cotton, from the Rev. H. Venn, was laid on the table; and a newspaper from Hong Kong, confirming the opinions of this Society, of the injustice and fraud inseparable from the Coolie traffic. Also observations of Ernest Noel's, after a recent visit to Jamaica, throwing much light on the labour question, and the various causes of the depression in that island. Governor Hincks affirms, after careful investigation, that he knows of no estate that has gone out of cultivation for want of labour.

LEEDS YOUNG-MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of this Society was held in the Music Hall, on Thursday the 22d ult. and an additional interest was given to the proceedings by the presence of Mr. Frederick Douglass and Miss Remond, a free-born coloured lady. Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., presided, and in addition to the names already mentioned there were also in the orchestra, the Rev. Dr. Crofts, Huddersfield; Rev. Dr. Brewer, Leeds; Rev. J. Ma-

ther, Joseph Richardson, Esq., W. Armistead, Esq., Joseph Lupton, Esq., Messrs. J. Andrew, W. H. Pullen, Walker, &c. Sir Peter Fairbairn, the Rev. J. Blomefield, and the Rev. S. Hulme, had also been announced amongst the list of speakers, but were unable to be present, though expressing their sympathy with the meeting.

" The CHAIRMAN, on rising to open the meeting, was received with loud applause. He said they were met there to renew the expression of their deep disapprobation of the sin and crime of Slavery, wherever it existed. Were he to indulge merely his own wishes, or to consult merely their gratification, he should at once call upon Mr. Douglass and Miss Remond to address them; but they must remember the special object for which they were assembled, namely, as far as they could to discharge the duty which they owed to those on the other side of the Atlantic, to exercise some influence, as a meeting of Englishmen assembled in this large and important borough, upon the moral sense, opinions, and convictions of the inhabitants of the United States. They must not, therefore, merely consult their own feelings and wishes, but express their opinions upon this subject, in order that they might go across the Atlantic, and produce whatever influence they might be entitled to there. He was sure he need not say to them, either on his own part or on the part of any person who appeared before them, that there was not the slightest feeling adverse to their brethren of the United States; on the other hand, that, politically, they had very great sympathy with them; that, considering them as engaged in advancing the cause of civilization and of general political freedom in the world, they were delighted on most occasions to co-operate with them; and that they greatly honoured them on account of their disposition to progress, and for the many splendid things they had done. They were assembled there from no feeling whatever that could give offence to their American brethren, from no feeling which could justly excite any indignation on their part, but simply that they might discharge what they considered a moral and Christian duty. Their proceedings that evening were just such as, forty years ago, took place with regard to Slavery, not in a foreign country, but in their own dominions, and which ultimately led to the suppression of that Slavery throughout the British empire. The foul and fatal assumption that seemed to lie at the basis of American Slavery was, that the slaves, though in the form of men, were not admitted in reality to be human beings, but merely a lower species of animal existence. At least so they must conclude from the terms of the Declaration of Independence. That Declaration set out by saying that all men were created equal, and with an inalienable right to liberty, the possession of their property, and the pursuit of happiness. Now if all men were created equal, the position of the slaves in that country was such as clearly shewed that they were not acknowledged to be men, because, if they were acknowledged to be men, then they must be admitted to political and personal rights; but they were denied utterly all political

and social rights, and thus virtually declared to be an inferior order of creation. That alone condemned the slave-trade of America, and proved that it rested upon a false and foul basis. He thought that before the evening was over there would be no difficulty in arriving at the firmest conviction that persons of the African race, though they might at one time have been reduced by the crime of their fellow-men to the position of servitude, were possessed of all the attributes of humanity, and therefore ought to possess the prerogatives of humanity. They would be convinced that those persons possessed reason, feeling, affection, self-respect, and the sentiment of devotion. He was very glad that they had those living witnesses before them, to confirm them in the belief and conviction that colour was no ground whatever of lawful difference in the sight of human Governments, as they believed that there was no difference, arising from colour, in the sight of God, who made black and white alike. But it would be an insult to their understandings to argue this point further, and he would therefore again remind them that they met to express their sympathy, first of all, with the oppressed slave, and next with those who occupied a position almost as trying as the slaves themselves—the thorough and sincere advocates of the abolition of Slavery in the United States; and that they felt it to be a moral and Christian duty to do this. They did not feel that their duty was confined to the narrow space of their own land, but just as the good Samaritan felt it his duty to relieve the oppressed and plundered Jew; just as John Howard felt it his duty to go forth and relieve the prisoners whom he found in the dungeons and dens of every country of Europe and Asia Minor; just as Las Casas, the Spaniard, felt pity for the oppressed Peruvians; just as the Missionary feels sympathy and pity for men of every colour and the inhabitants of every clime; just so they felt it their duty, belonging to the white race, to declare their sympathy with, their respect for, the black race, and to declare that it was an outrage upon humanity to oppress them as they were oppressed in the United States of America. The United States themselves admitted that it was right to extend their sympathies, and right to extend their action beyond the boundary of their own States, inasmuch as they declared the slave-trade, by the general law of the country, to be piracy, and sent out their cruisers in order to prevent it. Why should this be, but to prevent an outrage upon races of men who did not belong to their own country; and if they therefore manifested that degree of respect to the rights of men, even in the most distant countries, surely so might Englishmen, as a matter of duty, of Christian responsibility, express their sympathy with those who were suffering on the opposite side of the Atlantic. There was, after all, a horrible consistency of Slavery, which caused principles that were admitted at one time in the States to be set aside and outraged at another. The aspect which the system presented at this moment in America was this, that Slavery seemed as though it were likely to bring back the slave-trade in that country; that

the existence of servitude within the States was driving many to the belief that they must encourage the existence of the slave-trade to replenish the number of their slaves. There were even members of the Legislatures in several of the Southern States, who were now formally advocating the re-opening of the slave-trade, and there were ships known to be engaged in landing cargoes of slaves in some of the States of the South. The yacht "Wanderer" recently landed a cargo in Georgia, and had sailed again on the same errand. Thus they saw how one bad principle led to another. But even if this were not so—if they were in no danger of the revival of the foreign slave-trade, there was an internal slave-trade within the United States as bad, and, in some respects, infinitely worse. The breeding of slaves for the express purpose of pecuniary profit in Virginia and other States, and the selling, year by year, of long streams of manacled men and women, to be sent into the plantations of the South, were attended with all the demoralizations and many of the horrors of the foreign slave-trade. Look at the demoralizing effects of this system in social life. The Rev. Mr. May, in a recent speech in London, gave a touching instance in proof of this. A gentleman in New Orleans took a coloured woman, to whom he became fondly attached, to live with him as his wife, and they had three daughters, who were warmly beloved by their father. On his death, his brother was appointed executor, but, on looking into the affairs, the estate was found to be insolvent, and the brother had to stand by and see his sister and nieces sold into Slavery, the latter fetching a high price for the vilest of purposes. Not only was this the case, but the laws of several of the States declared the slaves to be mere chattels. The law of Louisiana declared that a slave could do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing, but what must belong to his master. The law of South Carolina declared them to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors. The law of Georgia was similar. And Judge Ruffin, pronouncing the judgment of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, said a slave was 'one doomed in his own person, and his posterity, to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make any thing his own.' Of the effect of these laws they had a practical illustration in an instance mentioned by the *New-York Evening Post*, where a will, executed by a Mr. Brazelle in favour of his coloured wife and son, whom he had manumitted, was set aside, on the suit of some poor relatives of the deceased, by Judge Sharkey, who declared the act of emancipation an offence against morality, and pernicious and detestable as an example. That was not all, for he awarded not only the estate, but the widow and the son, to the parties who instituted the suit. Again, they knew that it was, in some of the States, a criminal offence to teach the slaves to read and write. Such were the horrors and crimes perpetrated in the name of this inhuman system. After referring to the letter of Mr. W. E. Forster, in Tuesday's *Mercury*, mentioning the fact that General Harney had flogged a female slave to death, and driven the husband to suicide, Mr. Baines remarked that he need not say more to prove that Slavery

demoralized the master as much as it degraded the slave. He continued by referring to the recent outbreak in Virginia. He admitted that John Brown undertook an act and enterprise that was technically criminal; he admitted that he was an enthusiast—an enthusiast for liberty; he admitted that he was acting under a feeling of exasperation for the murder of his two sons by the border ruffians in Kansas; he admitted that he was an imprudent man, because he undertook a romantic adventure to rescue his fellow-men: at the same time he believed, from all he had read of the evidence, that he was a good man—that he was a Christian man, a sincere man, and a true-hearted friend of liberty—a man who did not aim at producing bloodshed, but really to facilitate the escape of a number of slaves from their horrible bondage. Well, this poor old man, with his seventeen followers, after paralyzing the slaveholders, was seized, tried, and condemned to execution; but so great was the excitement and the alarm in the Slave States, that they had to have some 1500 soldiers at the execution, to keep back the people, and prevent a rescue. This display alone shewed the terror of the slaveholders. In conclusion, he remarked that Slavery was endangering the Union, and he again justified their expression of sympathy with the slave, and their admiration of those men who were seeking to abolish so demoralizing a system. He then called upon

"MR. PULLEN, the Secretary, who gave a brief outline of the Society's operations during the past year. The number of members and the income of the Society had been trebled, the receipts having amounted to 53*l.*, and the expenditure to 50*l. 8s.*, leaving a balance in hand of 2*l. 12s.* A large number of tracts had been distributed, and the report of their soirée last year had also been printed, and its effect on the American public mind was most important, many of the Southern journals having commented upon it. They had also endeavoured to influence the American churches on the question of Slavery, these churches being its great bulwark in America. They had also communicated with the *Young-Men's Anti-Slavery Society* in Amsterdam, the members of which were exerting themselves to secure the extinction of Slavery in the Dutch colonies, and they hoped their cheering words would not be altogether valueless. He then referred to the visit of Dr. Pomroy to Leeds, and to the opposition which the Society felt bound to offer to the institution that Rev. Gentleman represented, in consequence of its connection with Slavery. On behalf of the Committee he expressed thanks to those ministers of religion in Leeds who had responded to their requests, and publicly offered up prayer on behalf of the slaves on the 1st of August last. The Committee also adverted to the efforts which had been made to induce the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States to purify themselves by ceasing to hold communion with slaveholders; and concluded by appealing to the members and friends for aid and assistance in the work still before them.

"MR. DOUGLASS was then introduced to the meeting, and was most warmly applauded. He said he had great pleasure in attending that meeting, and especially so under the presidency of one so

much esteemed and honoured as their Chairman, not only in England, but also in the United States, and whose kindly words, and reproofs, and rebukes, and remonstrances, and appeals would be heard with all the more respect on account of the mildness with which they had been urged on that and other occasions. It was true that America was great in her wealth, in her enterprise, in her industry, in the breadth and comprehensiveness of her institutions, but no part of her greatness resulted from the existence of Slavery. They were indebted not to the slaveholders for any thing that gave America respectability. Slavery, like an incubus, was weighing down that great nation, whilst the stern rebukes and reproofs from this side of the Atlantic tended to increase and strengthen all that was great and noble. He then adverted to the visit to Leeds of 'that eminent hypocritical divine, Dr. Pomroy,' who, he stated, had been recently suspended from his office of Secretary to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, on account of immorality, and continued by observing that he had not come there to argue the question whether he was a man or not, for to do so would be to forget that he was addressing English men and women, amongst whom, on his visit fourteen or fifteen years ago, he was first impressed with a sense of his full and equal humanity. They were apt to estimate themselves somewhat after the estimate formed of them by those with whom they were surrounded; and as, in the United States, negroes were, in the language of the law, 'deemed, reputed, and adjudged to be property to all intents and purposes and constructions whatsoever,' some of them had taken rather degrading views of themselves; but in England they discovered, that whatever their opinion of themselves, the people of this country regarded them as men, and he had never heard from an Englishman the slightest word, or the least indication of doubt as to his humanity. Nor was he about to argue the question of his or the negro's right to liberty. The poorest, the most downcast, the most ignorant and whip-scarred bondsman was entitled to this right, and to argue the question was to insult humanity. No laws, no statutes, no agreements, no constitutions, no governments, however time honoured and sacred, could abrogate this right for one moment. They might pile statutes to heaven against this right, but it still belonged to every man, and he was bound on all favourable opportunities to assert it in whatever manner and at whatever time he had a reasonable hope of securing it. He (Mr. Douglass) was exceedingly glad to hear the reference of the Chairman to that dear old departed saint, John Brown. He had read in the *Leeds Mercury* a notice of John Brown's execution, in which he (Brown) was spoken of as having entered upon a criminal career, and as deserving a criminal's doom. He was glad, therefore, to hear the Chairman say that the crime of which John Brown was guilty was merely a technical crime. It was a crime according to form, but not according to substance. It might be a crime for one on board a pirate ship, against the rules and regulations, to strike down the captain and

take possession of the ship, in order that it might be carried into port where the victims of piracy might be set at liberty. In no other sense than this did he hold that John Brown's act was a crime. English people were apt to regard John Brown as a man entering into a quiet and peaceable locality, where men and women were observing the laws, and where morality, justice, liberty, and social order prevailed; but this was merely a picture of the fancy. John Brown entered no such neighbourhood as that; he entered Virginia, not when she was at peace, but when in a state of war; for he undertook to say that no state of war could exist more real and more bloody than that which prevailed in the Southern States. Slavery itself was an insurrection, and the slaveholders were a band of armed insurgents against the just rights and liberties of their fellow-men. He knew that they appealed to the laws which gave them a legal right to traffic in the souls and bodies of men; but there were persons in the United States who held to a higher law than that of Slavery, and the Hon. W. H. Seward, one of the candidates for the Presidency, he was happy to say, was one of these. Having paid a tribute to the profound Christian piety of John Brown, Mr. Douglass said the Chairman did no more than justice when he said that although he (Brown) had the noble purpose of emancipating the slaves of Maryland and Virginia, he did not enter those States with the object of bloodshed or carnage; his motives were as pure and his defence as perfect as that which could be made for Moses himself entering the land of Egypt to conduct the exodus of a liberty-loving people. He (Brown) went there for the purpose of conducting such persons in the Southern States as the cruel laws had kept ignorant of the honourable means of gaining their liberty into a state of freedom; but there was no use disguising the fact that he was prepared to defend himself, even to blood, if any attempt were made to prevent the success of his enterprise. He did not ask them to express their approval of any armed opposition to Slavery; but when a man in such a cause had disinterestedly laid down his life, it was due that he should be spoken of in a manner which should leave no tarnish on his memory. John Brown went not as an insurgent against peaceable men, but against an armed band of insurgents. Blood was there already—blood, drop by drop wrung from the hearts of poor defenceless people, deprived of every means of freedom. He interfered; he saw a strong man in the act of beating out the brains of a weak man, and he interposed himself between. They might say that it was a mad and reckless, a daring and audacious thing to do; that he was imprudent. Yes, would to God there was a little more imprudence in the United States! Prudence was an excellent thing, but it had seldom made heroes or martyrs. Success made an enterprise wise, and failure made it foolish; success made it prudent, and failure made it imprudent. Had George Washington, who unsheathed the American sword against the British Government, been vanquished and hanged by the neck, instead of being regarded as the father of his country, he would have been called a rash and reckless criminal, a rebellious subject, and

worthy to expiate his crimes on the gallows. John Brown failed, Louis Kossuth failed, and other noble men had failed, in their struggle for freedom, but their names would be no less glorious or less precious to the lovers of liberty for that failure. Since his arrival in this country he had received numerous letters, reading him long lectures on the subject of peace. His answer was, that he was really a lover of peace, but his theory of peace had a preface to it—first pure, then peaceable, was the scriptural order of his peace principles. He held it to be true, that the men who did the most to establish justice did the most to establish peace on the earth; and he held, further, that there could be no real peace where there were oppression and injustice. The slaveholders and their abettors could not be allowed the benefit of the doctrine of peace. He was for peace such as the Bible spoke of, but no peace to the wicked. The slaveholders had been crying for peace for a long time: what they wanted was to be let alone; but if all the organizations which were agitating for the abolition of Slavery were put down to-morrow, the slaveholder would have no peace, for deep down in his own soul God had planted the accuser which was ever saying to him that he was guilty concerning his brother. He would not proclaim a millennium for tyrants, by telling them that their slaves had no right to strike them down, or to endeavour to gain their freedom. The slaveholder, by his conduct, invited every form of assault; and if he were struck down, and weltered in his blood, he had only his own crimes to thank for his punishment. With regard to the prospects of the anti-slavery cause, it was in a very hopeful condition in America; and although there was a very powerful body in the States who advocated and sustained Slavery, there was also a large and growing party opposed to it. Fourteen years ago there was hardly a Member of Congress opposed to Slavery: now there were more than a hundred. Fourteen years ago they had no Senator on their side, while they had now twenty-four. Then it was almost impossible to speak on the subject of Slavery at Washington; but now they had two anti-slavery papers published there, and their Congress, moreover, was converted into a grand anti-slavery debating society. These were hopeful signs, and the States were now in a very healthy state of agitation. Mr. Douglass then answered three or four questions which had been put by Mr. W. Firth, of Farnley, with reference to the value of slaves, and the connection of the Wesleyan body in America with the slave-trade; after which he referred to the suggested possibility of the dissolution of the American Union. Of this, he said, he had no fear, for the Southern States had not the power to obtain, and the Northern States had not the will to consent to, the separation. The abolitionists had no desire for the dissolution of the Union, but they wished that the government should be carried on according to the constitution of the States. The constitution and the Declaration of Independence were good enough, and what was needful was, that the principles of the constitution should be applied to the existence of the curse of Slavery. The constitution of the United States in no form sustained Slavery; the Declaration was an anti-

slavery document from beginning to end; and the reason Slavery existed was, that they made void the law by their traditions. The Declaration was interpreted with limitations. It said, 'all persons shall be free and equal;' but the advocates of Slavery added, 'except negroes.' Why make this and other similar exceptions? He would admit nothing in favour of Slavery until it was proved; and he would not allow that the constitution of the States supported Slavery simply because the slaveholders said so. They were ready to take the constitution in their hands, and by acting in accordance with it, they believed they could not only abolish Slavery, but secure also the glory of the American nation. (Mr. Douglass resumed his seat amidst loud cheering.)

"Miss REMOND then addressed the Meeting in remarks characterized by great impressiveness and eloquence. She said she stood there to represent a race deprived of every privilege, and even of hope. The American law had declared that black men and women had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. To her, that was a solemn and a sad hour. Every letter she received from across the Atlantic brought her tidings of the excitement rocking that land from its centre to its circumference, and she was constantly told—'Old John Brown sleeps to night in a martyr's grave.' She had no word of censure for him, or for the means which he took to carry out his great idea. She had the honour of being identified with the ultra, the fanatical, the Garrisonian abolitionists of America, and having watched them from childhood's hour, she thought they now occupied a more sublime position than they had ever before realized. What was the condition of America, enfolding within her warmest sympathies and encircling by her strong influence a system so foul and hideous that it called forth the execrations of the civilized world? Turn where they would, whether they regarded the legislative, the executive, the judicial, the political, or the religious opinions of that land, they found that, so far as the majority was concerned, they were wedded to Slavery. American politics had sunk to a depth of degradation which she could not describe, and all the best men in America, with few exceptions, were outside the political arena. Even the Republican party had never dared to go beyond seeking to prevent the extension of Slavery, and they had not yet laid the axe at the root of the tree. Every word of sympathy from English lips would tell in favour of the slave, and she asked them to send their moral protest across the Atlantic against the oligarchy which was crushing her brethren and sisters, and reducing them to the lowest degradation. She referred to the support given to Slavery by the religious and moral sentiment of America, and asserted that if this sentiment were really and truly opposed to Slavery, that curse would go down at once. The clergymen of the States did more to carry out the Fugitive-Slave Law than any other portion of the community, and as a body they had much to answer for in this respect. Miss Remond concluded by an eloquent tribute to the memory of John Brown.

"Mr. Ald. RICHARDSON then moved the following resolution:

"That Slavery, as it now exists in the Southern States of the American Union, is an unmitigated evil, a sin against God, and a crime against humanity, detrimental to the best interests of commerce and industry, and ruinous alike to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the slave; and therefore justly demanding the censure and condemnation of every man who respects the law of God, recognises man's equal right to freedom, or has any regard for the principle of natural justice."

Slavery, he said, was the foulest blot on humanity, and a disgrace to the American escutcheon; but he hoped the day was not far distant when that curse would be entirely annihilated. He expressed his regret that the Wesleyan body in America should be so lukewarm on the subject of Slavery, and contrasted their conduct with the more noble exertions and suffering of English Wesleyans to secure the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies.

"The Rev. Dr. CROFTS seconded the motion.

"Mr. J. LUPTON supported the resolution in an able speech, denying that the opinions expressed by the *Times* and other papers as to recent events in the States were the real opinions of Englishmen, and declaring his conviction that Slavery was a greater evil than civil war.

"The resolution was carried.

"The Rev. Dr. BREWER moved the next resolution—

"That American Slavery, as it now exists, is grievously opposed to the whole spirit of the Gospel, and an oppressive iniquity, which no faithful Christian should connive at or palliate; that this meeting, deeply deplored the fact, that Slavery has polluted so many of the American churches, feels it a most important duty, more especially to impress upon the churches of the Northern States the necessity of giving a most unequivocal testimony against Slavery, and thus remove that odium which rests upon them on account of their silent complicity with this iniquity."

He said he had intended to address the meeting on the religious aspect of this question, but at that hour he would not attempt to do so, and he should therefore simply move the resolution.

"The Rev. J. MATHER seconded the resolution, and said he should be glad to see their pulpits entirely and absolutely closed against all American ministers who had any thing whatever to do with Slavery. He thought that if English Christians would speak out more boldly on this question, their influence would be felt more strongly across the Atlantic.

"Mr. LUPTON having taken the chair,

"Mr. WILSON ARMISTEAD briefly condemned the system of Slavery, expressed his conviction that the culminating point of American Slavery had arrived, and declared that he did not feel that his peace principles had been violated by any thing that had been said that night. He looked upon the Harper's Ferry tragedy as the handwriting of God upon the wall, and he believed that something of the kind was necessary to rouse the Americans to a sense of their position, and to bring the system to a crisis. He concluded by moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Baines.

"Mr. W. SCHOLEFIELD seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

"Mr. BAINES responded, and the meeting terminated about ten o'clock."

MEETING IN EDINBURGH TO EXPRESS SYMPATHY WITH THE REV. DR. CHEEVER.

"A public meeting was held on Thursday afternoon, the 23d ultimo, in Queen-street Hall, 'for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Rev. Dr. Cheever, of New York, in the painful position which he has lately been called upon to occupy, with regard to Slavery,' &c. There was a large attendance. Among the gentlemen on the platform were Lord Provost Douglas, Sir John Melville, Drs. Candlish, Guthrie, and Alexander; the Revs. Messrs. Pulsford, Cullen, Graham, of Newhaven, and Jonathan Watson, Councillor Fyfe, Mr. J. Burn Murdoch, jun., and Mr. J. M. Macfarlan.

"The LORD PROVOST presided, and, in opening the meeting, remarked that he was thankful to say such meetings were not very common in Edinburgh. They were called together to express sympathy with a Christian minister in very peculiar circumstances; a man well known to the people of this country by his writings and other works; and one who, at the present time, needed all the sympathy and any encouragement that could be given him. On the subject which had brought them together there would naturally two views occur. On the one hand it might be said, and often was said, that there were men who defended a good cause so injudiciously that they did about as much harm as good to it; and, on the other side, there were men who opposed a bad cause—Slavery for instance—so as to bear very inconsistent testimony to it. He thought there was sufficient in the information which had been received to warrant him in saying that Dr. Cheever, by his manly and admirable denunciations of Slavery, was entitled to the sympathy of all Christian and well-thinking men in this country.

"Dr. CANDLISH, who was received with loud cheers, moved the first resolution. The Rev. Doctor said his impression was, that if the case of Dr. Cheever had been brought before the community of Scotland in the way in which such cases usually are, and not in a private manner, the steam would have been up long ago, and the national enthusiasm kindled. Those who took an interest in the matter satisfied themselves that the case was an admirable and a deserving one. They received information from Dr. Cheever himself that he was suffering for his faithfulness in advocating the cause of emancipation, and that the movement for assistance had his thorough sanction. He did not intend to discuss any question of ecclesiastical government. These facts were plain, and, he believed, admitted on all sides, that in consequence of a good deal of Dr. Cheever's time in the pulpit being occupied with preaching on the subject of Slavery, some of his congregation, and those of the wealthier classes, were dissatisfied; and they took advantage of Dr. Cheever's absence for a few months on sick leave to make a representation to him to the effect that it would be bet-

ter for the peace and prosperity of the congregation that he would resign. When he returned he found that he was sustained by a large and overwhelming majority of the congregation. Now, it was for the purpose of enabling Dr. Cheever to continue in the high position he had held, without risk of being troubled from year to year, that a movement was now made by his friends and the congregation, and they were asked to aid in the movement. The object was to enable the church of the Puritans to maintain its position as a church, and to retain in its pulpit Dr. Cheever to thunder his anathemas against all sin, and the sin of Slavery in particular. Now, when they had the subject fairly before them, he hoped expression would be given to their sympathies with the Rev. Doctor, and that they would with one heart combine to support him in his position. There was a very large and influential anti-slavery party in the Northern States of America: how came it, some would say, that Dr. Cheever was in such difficulties there? There was a considerable body of ministers there who were avowedly opposed to Slavery? how came it that Dr. Cheever should suffer more than they did? He (Dr. Candlish) had some difficulty on these points himself when the matter was brought under his notice. He naturally asked, was Dr. Cheever the only minister who gave expression to anti-slavery views? and he was informed that there were a considerable number of other ministers who expressed similar opinions. He found that the peculiar offence which Dr. Cheever had given was in his not holding abstract anti-slavery views. He set himself, not merely to a general advocacy of emancipation, but to insist on the enormous sin of the Legislature in permitting Slavery. They would at once see that this placed him in a somewhat similar position. He believed there was a body of anti-slavery men in America of whom it might be no offence to say that they could not be expected to enter into a measure involving ecclesiastical matters. There was another class thoroughly opposed to slavery, and opposed to it on Christian grounds, who took up this position, that they ought to enlighten people's minds on the subject, but ought not to interfere either by force, as poor John Brown had been doing, or by any thing in the way of political agitation, which unquestionably was the offence of Dr. Cheever. He believed those anti-slavery men could not be expected to sympathize with Dr. Cheever in his present position, or to secure his possession of the church of the Puritans, as a confessor for this great principle. His opinion of anti-slavery men was that they were bound to make their position tell on the ballot-box. He thoroughly agreed with Dr. Cheever that every man in America who holds the truth of this subject was bound to do his utmost in the cause they were now arguing for. Slavery had taken the aggressive in America, not only in a lawful way, but by force of arms, as in Kansas; and, worst of all, these aggressive movements were getting the countenance of the Legislature, so that the Slavery party were supported by the whole force of the United States army. It was the case of a hostile power—hostile to liberty, hostile to man, hostile to God—raising itself, and

bursting the bonds with which it had been fettered—coming forth to debauch men's minds and opinions, and by force of arms endeavouring to compel every soul in America to be stained by the curse of slavery. Dr. Cheever had published a book against Slavery, and he (Dr. Candlish) began to read that book with some sort of curiosity, to see how it stood the test of fair and calm perusal; and he might say, that having begun the volume, he could not rest until he had ended it: and from beginning to end he found nothing indicating extreme opinions. He was prepared to subscribe to every sentence of that most noble book. The Rev. Doctor read several extracts from the book referred to, which is entitled "God against Slavery," for the purpose of shewing the manner in which Dr. Cheever confuted the allegation that he preached politics in religion, and shewed the necessity of a greater amount of religion in politics in America. He (Dr. Candlish) was an advocate of immediate abolition: he would instantly abolish any thing like the right to sell, any thing like the right to buy, any thing like restraint upon the education of any man, or the right to sell them as mere goods and chattels. All that must be instantly abolished. What he understood Dr. Cheever to mean was, that if this was done instantly, the establishment of rights in America would be a safe and practicable thing. He believed the question would soon be gone into, and if Slavery was not abolished the Union was gone. He believed the execution of John Brown was the first blow of the axe laid at the root of the tree of Slavery. He thought that event was rousing the men of the North, even those who were apt to be quiescent; and on the very first meeting of Congress he would have the men of the North and the men of the South to surrender, or let them fight for their rights. There was no bloodthirsty desire, for if John Brown had succeeded in carrying some 300 or 400 slaves into Canada, who would not have cheered to the echo, and fallen at his feet, and hailed him as deliverer? Dr. Cheever was doing very much the same thing legally that John Brown attempted by the hand of force. Dr. Cheever was attempting to arouse the consciences of men to discharge their duties as citizens. If they had some dozen ministers of Christ of like minds with Dr. Cheever, as earnest as he was, denouncing this sin, there would be hope of stirring this great question without anarchy and without bloodshed. But if not, he greatly feared that it would go on until it was brought to a termination by the interposition of God. (The Rev. Doctor concluded amid loud applause.)

"The Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER, Dr. GUTHRIE, and Rev. WILLIAM REID, subsequently delivered short addresses on the subject. Dr. Guthrie intimated that collections were intended to be made in several of the churches in the city for the benefit of Dr. Cheever.

"On the motion of Mr. BURN MURDOCH, a vote of thanks was passed to the Lord Provost, and the meeting broke up."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1859.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE WEST INDIES.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have addressed a letter on the subject of immigration into the West Indies to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, of which the following is a copy. The Duke has acknowledged the receipt of the communication, but does not encourage the Committee to expect that he will favour either a Commission of Inquiry or a Parliamentary investigation. It therefore remains to be determined how far the friends of the anti-slavery cause, throughout the country, will urge the question upon their representatives in Parliament.

27, New Broad Street, E.C.,
4th November, 1857.

To HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,

H. M. Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD DUKE, When the Deputation from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* had the honour of an interview with Your Grace, on the 23d of July last, you were good enough to offer to transmit to the Colonies a list of questions—to be submitted by the Committee—with a view to elicit such information as would enlighten the public mind on the results of Coolie immigration, which has been carried on, for more than twenty-five years, under the immediate supervision of Her Majesty's Government. Although the most recent Parliamentary papers relating to this subject, were not in the hands of the Committee when the Deputation was honoured with the interview referred to—the last of them, and by far the most important, having been published subsequently thereto—the Committee were fully satisfied of the objectionable character of the present system of immigration, and were also prepared to justify their doubts respecting the alleged scarcity of available Creole labour, the existence of which is the ostensible plea for the introduction of Coolie labourers. The papers alluded to, have greatly strengthened the views of the Committee. They have also confirmed them in the opinion expressed in the Memorial adopted by the public meeting at the *London Tavern* on the 13th July, and presented to you on the 23d, to the effect that a full, an impartial, and an early investigation of the *West-India Labour Question*, as a whole, is absolutely indispensable, in order that the important facts which are known to them should be placed, in an authentic form, before Parliament and the country, and a deliberate opinion upon them pronounced by these ultimate tribunals. In soli-

citing, at that period, the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry of the House of Lords, Your Memorialists felt the advantage of the presence, in this country, of a considerable number of gentlemen connected officially and non-officially with the West Indies, China, and the East Indies, whose evidence on the labour question, and on the means employed to procure Indian Coolies and Chinese, it was of the utmost importance to obtain. The Committee may be permitted to express their regret, that so excellent an opportunity was permitted to slip by unimproved, and also that the alternative suggested by Your Grace, of appointing a special Commission, to receive the evidence of such valuable witnesses, was not carried out. At the same time, Your Memorialists never anticipated that such a Committee would supersede [the necessity for the appointment of a Royal Commission, empowered to proceed to the West Indies, and to take evidence on the spot. They fully expected that a Parliamentary Committee would recommend the adoption of this mode of obtaining evidence, inaccessible in this country, and without which its own labours could not be brought to a satisfactory termination.

Your Memorialists therefore venture to suggest, that early in the ensuing session a Committee of the House of Lords should be appointed, to take whatever evidence is to be obtained in this country, and that, meanwhile, a special Commission should proceed to the West Indies, for the purpose of prosecuting a local investigation.

The Committee apprehend that between themselves and the advocates of the present system of immigration, a material difference of opinion exists upon the two following points, namely :

First : As to the actual scarcity of Creole labour,
Second : As to the mode in which the deficiency, if any, is to be supplied.

On the first point, the Committee admit, and have never denied, that the evidence is conflicting. Nevertheless, and while fully conceding that the circumstances of each colony differ, and that to no two of them any general rule is arbitrarily applicable, the Committee submit it to be demonstrable, from the Parliamentary papers and other official documents, that the scarcity of available Creole labour has been much exaggerated. If, however, the Committee are to understand this term as signifying that the actual labouring population of the West-India colonies—save Barbados—is inadequate to the cultivation of the vast area of land lying waste in them, they at once admit the fact. If, on the other hand, it is intended to convey a declaration that the population available for labour is not only insufficient to extend the actual area of cultivation, but even to enable the proprietors of estates to carry it on at the present rate, then the

Committee emphatically assert that there is not the slightest foundation for such a statement. In this view they are confirmed by the opinion expressed by His Excellency Governor Hincks, in his despatch to the Administrator of the island of St. Lucia, dated 9th September 1857. He says :

"I have never yet been able to trace a single case, in which an estate has been thrown out of cultivation, or the proprietor seriously injured, from want of labour."*

This strong opinion—though it may not be equally applicable to all the colonies—is corroborated by the fact, that since emancipation, the general rate of wages has steadily declined, either by an actual diminution of the money-rate for a task or for a day's labour, or by an increase of the amount of work required for the same wages.

The Committee venture most respectfully to submit, that the very existence of contradictory evidence on a substantial point of this intricate question—evidence which is entitled to the utmost respect, coming from two different parties whom it is fair to presume are only seeking the truth—furnishes one very cogent reason for the appointment of a Commission, to inquire into the alleged deficiency of Creole labour in our West-India colonies, and into the causes thereof. The Committee ought not to apprehend any opposition from the West-India Body, who, through their Chairman, Mr. Stephen Cave, M.P., have declared that "the West Indians have every thing to gain from inquiry."† On their side, the Committee believe that an impartial Commission, conducting a local investigation of this nature, could not fail to elicit a mass of facts, which would materially tend to dispel much of the misapprehension prevalent, in relation to the actual position of employers and labourers, and would furnish a basis for regulating the future supply of foreign labour according to some fixed and generally acceptable principle, should the evidence shew that such labour is really needed, and that no means can be employed to secure that of the Creole peasantry.

The Committee are now brought to the consideration of the second point of difference previously specified.

Immigration—as the system in force for supplying Coolie labourers to the sugar colonies has been called—proceeds upon the assumption that an actual dearth of native labour exists in those colonies; always with the exception of Barbados. The Committee have already expressed a decided opinion upon this point. Under this system, however, many thousands of Indians, and some

* Papers on Immigration, Part ii. 1859. p. 13.

† Circular issued by the West-India Committee, dated from Wallbrook House, February 21, 1859, and signed by Mr. Stephen Cave as Chairman.

hundreds of Chinese, have been introduced into British Guiana, Trinidad, Grenada, Jamaica, and the Mauritius, under circumstances which from the first attracted the attention of the advocates of negro emancipation, and subsequently impelled the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to remonstrate against its continuance. But the Committee—while maintaining a consistent opposition to the actual system of immigration have never declared themselves averse to a perfectly free emigration—the result of the operation of a natural law—which it would be useless to oppose, or to attempt to check by legislative restrictions. But the Committee apprehend that the Commissioners of Emigration—upon whom the supervision of the Coolie immigration devolves—do not concur in the opinion Your Memorialists have formed, upon admitted facts, of the thoroughly objectionable character of the present system of supplying our colonies with foreign labourers; nor is it clear to them, that even Your Grace is so familiar with those facts, as in your eyes to exonerate the Committee from the charge of exaggeration and falsification which some of the most prominent members of the West-India Body, and certain leading statesmen, have deliberately brought against them, and which has been reiterated by a portion of the press. As one result of the investigations of a Committee of the House of Lords, Your Memorialists had hoped that your Grace's attention would have been specially directed to the facts already established, and officially in your possession, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that you would have concurred with the Committee as to the necessity of a complete revision of the present immigration system, with a view to provide a radical remedy for existing, admitted evils and abuses.

Your Grace will gather from these remarks, that the Committee do not consider immigration as at present conducted, a legitimate, a fair, or even an expedient mode of supplying any deficiency of Creole labour that may be shewn to exist; and they would now beg to direct your attention to the points which they deem to be sufficiently established, to justify some immediate action on the part of Her Majesty's Government. They are as follows:

First.—That gross frauds and systematic deception are practised upon the Coolies, to induce them to immigrate.

Second.—That the local immigration agents for the West Indies, are privy to this deception, and either themselves give the Coolies false information, or withhold from them that which they ought to give.

Third.—That the practice of crimping by men called "recruiters," to obtain Coolies for the West-Indian and the Mauritius labour-markets, is carried on with the knowledge and the direct sanction of the Government, home and local.

Fourth.—That the sea-voyages to and from the Colonies—especially the West Indies—have been attended with so serious a loss of life, as to excite the alarm of Her Majesty's Government, and to cause it to declare, that unless means can be found to reduce the rate of mortality to a *minimum*, immigration must be stopped.

Fifth.—That the highest medical authorities at Calcutta, and the highest official authorities in the West Indies, are at direct variance as to the causes of this mortality, shewing the necessity of a more careful investigation to determine the point; and that it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners, that "emigration from Calcutta will never be carried on without a considerable mortality."

Sixth.—That the mortality amongst the Coolies, in the West Indies, during their period of industrial residence, is proportionately larger than amongst the slave population of Cuba.

Seventh.—That the wages of the Coolies are not only insufficient, and lower than the rate promised them previous to embarkation, but that gross deception with reference thereto, is systematically practised.

Eighth.—That the Coolies who return to India from the West Indies, complain of the frauds of which they are the victims, and that in consequence of the unfavourable reports circulated by them, the Immigration Agents experience the very greatest difficulty in obtaining emigrants for those remote colonies.

Ninth.—That the sums of money taken back by return Coolies, though considerable in the aggregate, give only a small average per Coolie for every year of his industrial residence; and that where large sums are possessed by individual Coolies, these have been made by trading, or by other pursuits.

Tenth.—That there is an enormous inequality of the sexes, the preponderance being on the part of the males, and that this inequality leads to the perpetration of the grossest immorality, which cannot but be prejudicial, by example, to the Creole population, and fatal to its progress.

Eleventh.—That the few female immigrants introduced, are recruited from the very lowest classes, and are, as a body, of dissolute habits, and therefore a highly objectionable class of persons to introduce into any colony.

Twelfth.—That no sufficient means of affording religious instruction to these heathens, have been provided in any of the colonies.

Thirteenth.—That in Mauritius, the immigrants are insufficiently fed, their rations being much less than those allowed to slaves in Cuba or in the United States.

Fourteenth.—That the cost of the present system of Coolie immigration, is not sustained entirely by those who profess to require the labour, but is defrayed mainly by the community, that is, by the very classes whose labour the foreigners are introduced to supersede.

Fifteenth.—That the most recent legislation upon this subject, does not charge the planters demanding the labour, with the entire cost of the system, but leaves a very large and quite uncertain balance thereof—including the expenses of back-passages—to be defrayed out of the colonial funds, that is, out of the taxes of the colony.

Sixteenth.—That Her Majesty's Government, the Emigration Commissioners, their Excellencies the Governors of British Guiana

and of Barbados, have fully recognised the principle, that no part whatever of the cost of immigration ought to be borne by the colonies importing immigrants, but that the whole of it ought to be paid by those who require the foreign labour.

Seventeenth.—That all the colonies which have received immigrants, have, in consequence, involved themselves in debt to an enormous amount, and have brought themselves into difficulties which seriously affect their prosperity.

Eighteenth.—That all the admitted evils and abuses of the present system, are being intensified, in consequence of the competition which is arising between the various West-India colonies and Mauritius, for Coolie labourers, each of the former—to which immigration is sanctioned—being authorized to employ a separate agent, while each planter in the latter is permitted the same dangerous privilege; and that unless means are speedily adopted to arrest these evils, they are likely to baffle legislative interference.

Nineteenth.—That the rate of wages in our West-India Colonies and in Mauritius, is not regulated by the law of supply and demand, but is fixed arbitrarily by the employers of labour, and according to an ever-varying standard.

Twentieth.—That the actual relations between employers and employed, in the colonies named—in other words, that the actual labour-system in them—presents an anomaly unknown in any other country where labour is free; is at variance with the economic rules which elsewhere determine the relations between labour and capital, and with the system of labour inaugurated by the Act of Emancipation.

These, my Lord Duke, are the chief allegations against the present system of Coolie immigration, which the Committee are in a position to prove are established by the recently published Parliamentary Papers. In support of them, the Committee are prepared to furnish you with an appendix of references; or they will delegate a competent Deputation to wait upon you for the purpose of submitting these grave charges to the test of a rigid examination conducted by yourself, or by any gentleman whom you may select as your representative.

The Committee entertain a strong opinion that immigration, as at this time carried on, is of the worst possible example to slaveholding communities. They hold it to be demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt, that free-labour is, as an economical experiment, vastly cheaper than slave-labour and that next to slave-labour, foreign immigrant-labour is the most expensive. They firmly believe that the West-India planters are as well aware of this last fact as themselves; but that, as a very large proportion of the cost of immigration is abstracted from the public purse, they deem it more to their interest to employ it than to pay adequate wages to the Creole labourer, no proportion of

which would be defrayed out of colonial funds. They do not admit it as proved that immigration has advanced the material interests of those colonies which have most largely adopted it, so long as their annual budgets exhibit a large floating debt, not in process of extinction, and a constantly augmenting expenditure for this very object, with a proportionate increase of taxation. They consider that if the great experiment of the comparative advantages of free-labour as against slave-labour is to be subjected to a fair test, as an example to slaveholding countries, it is not to be done by the wholesale importation of hordes of heathens addicted to the most degrading vices, but by shewing that, under equitable inducements to labour, and with proper treatment, the emancipated peasantry of our colonies are themselves capable of working out the grand problem which the white race has imposed for solution upon the black. They conceive that to represent immigration as necessary, on the plea that the Creole labourers will not work—in bold defiance of facts proving the direct contrary—is to furnish the slaveholder with an additional argument for the perpetuation of the system of forced labour, and to cause him to regard the command of an unlimited immigrant labour-market, as an indispensable preliminary to any measure of emancipation. It appears to them quite clear, that if the abolition of Slavery in foreign countries is to be rendered dependent upon the success of any scheme of immigration whatever, based upon present principles—which is the favourite argument of the advocates of the actual system—and if—always presuming its success to have been demonstrated—general emancipation is to proceed upon the principle of immigration, the inevitable result will be the creation of a new social caste, typical of Slavery in the midst of freedom, the perpetuation of the prejudice against colour and race—which is the terrible legacy the former has bequeathed to the latter—the depopulation, by an unnatural process, of one part of the earth, for the professed benefit of a comparatively small number of individuals, and the introduction, on a most gigantic scale, of a heathen element to leaven with its vices a community already debased and demoralized by Slavery, not to dwell upon the enormous sacrifice of human life which an immigration on a plan so vast must inevitably entail.

The Committee do not hesitate to affirm, that the West Indies contain within themselves the elements of their own future prosperity, in their command of climate, soil, products, and population, provided these be properly improved. While Emancipation did not come one hour too soon, the mistaken policy of the planters in a great measure annulled its immediate benefits to all but the emancipated classes, and did not leave even them unaffected. But it is not too late to repair many of these errors, if the planters will only consult their real interests, which are intimately bound up with those of the labouring community. The Committee entertain the firm conviction, that if the task is undertaken resolutely, and in a proper spirit, a way ought to be found to reconcile interests which are at this time made to appear conflicting, and they are prepared to co-operate for such an object, fully, freely, and promptly. They can conceive of no achievement

more worthy the ambition of any Colonial Minister, than that of settling the West-India Labour Question upon a satisfactory and durable basis; but this mighty work can only be accomplished by legislating on the broadest and most enlightened principles. To you, My Lord Duke, the Committee look to take this work in hand, in the confident hope that, under the Divine blessing, you can bring it to a triumphant termination.

The Committee, in conclusion, respectfully solicit Your Grace to favour the nomination of a Committee of the House of Lords, as early as possible in the ensuing session, to receive whatever evidence is accessible in this country in relation to this complicated question, and to promote the immediate appointment of a Special Commission, to proceed to the West Indies for the purpose of inquiring into their present condition, and especially into the alleged deficiency in the supply of Creole labour, and the causes thereof, and into the working of the present system of immigration.

I have the honour to be

My Lord Duke,

(On behalf of the Committee,)
Your Grace's very obedient Servant,
L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,
Secretary.

THE HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY.

ON the 2nd of last month, Captain Brown, the originator of what has been styled, the Harper's Ferry Insurrection, expiated, on the scaffold, the offence against the laws of his country, of which, after a hurried, and by no means decorously-conducted trial, he had been found guilty. Whatever may be thought of his attempt, the immediate object of which seems to have been the liberation of a large number of slaves, and their transference across the border, and how differently soever men will pronounce judgment on the means he employed for its accomplishment, there are few who read the extracts we have collated from various sources, and reprinted in another column, but will feel a deep sympathy for him, and for his bereaved family. Committed as we are to the broad principle which holds human life to be sacred, and war to be contrary to the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, his attempt, judged by that standard of the highest morality, must be pronounced unjustifiable. At the same time, his earnestness, his single-mindedness, his great moral courage, his sufferings, and the noble object he sought to attain, recommend him to universal sympathy; while no one can read his affecting letters to his family and his friends, without feeling convinced that the old man—misguided though he may have been—was actuated by the highest of moral purposes, was a religious man, and was one of that class who figure as heroes in the history of nations. It cannot be but such an event will form a memorable era

in the chain of circumstances which are gradually diverting public opinion in America, from mere party discussions, to a serious consideration of the manner in which the great impending trouble is to be met, of dealing definitely with the question of abolition, for a trouble it certainly will prove, and the day when it must be dealt with is not far distant. The American Abolitionists may, indeed, be divided, and may hold such a difference of opinion on side issues, as to render concerted action impossible. But each section must, and does, in its own particular field, accomplish a work, by stimulating public attention to the manifest evils of Slavery. Yet, after all, such events as the recent Harper's Ferry tragedy are the most potent elements in the moving of the nation, for they tend to shew that slave-property is the most unsafe of investments, and that a crisis which shall depreciate its value, will affect the interests of the entire community.

It may be a worldly view to take of this great question. It is, nevertheless, one which must be entertained, in conjunction with that of the inherent immorality of slaveholding, for it must be borne in mind that many are most sensitive to the pecuniary aspects of the question of abolition, who are utterly insensible to the moral arguments in its favour. To such as these, Captain Brown's attempt will speak a most eloquent discourse. Already the slaveholders of the South are taking the alarm, and many Virginian families are contemplating a removal to another land, where they may live without fear. It may be, that in time to come, the attempt of John Brown will be found to have been one of the great events on which turned the consummation of negro freedom in America.

THE REV. DR. CHEEVER.

AT a Meeting of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, held on the 5th August last, a resolution was passed expressing sympathy with the Rev. Dr. Cheever, of New York, of which the following is the text:

"Resolved.—That the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, having observed, with deep interest, that the Rev. Dr. Cheever, pastor of the Puritan church in New York, has for many years maintained a consistent opposition, as a Christian minister, to the sin of Slavery, and to the Fugitive Slave Law, and that recently, in consequence of his Christian faithfulness, he has been placed in a most trying position, desire to record their deep sympathy with his efforts, and to assure him of their cordial esteem; and they sincerely desire that the Divine blessing may rest upon him, and upon

his noble exertions in the cause of suffering humanity."

It would appear that the letter containing the resolution did not reach Dr. Cheever, and after waiting some time for a reply in due course, a duplicate was forwarded, the receipt of which has been duly acknowledged. We are sure that our readers will feel deeply interested in Dr. Cheever's letter, and we sincerely trust that a considerable part of the sum he is endeavouring to raise, may be subscribed in this country. We are glad to see that the Birmingham and Edinburgh Societies are taking the matter in hand, and as the movement to promote Dr. Cheever's object has been inaugurated in the North, contributions should be sent to the persons named in the advertisement.

The following is Dr. Cheever's letter :

"New York, Nov. 30, 1859.

"My Dear Sir,—I have received your letter informing me that, on the 8th of August, you forwarded to me a copy of the resolution passed by the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. As that communication never came to hand, I am greatly obliged to you for sending me the duplicate, which I have now received. Please present my heartfelt thanks to the Committee for their great kindness. The expression of their sympathy is to us a great encouragement, and a most seasonable aid, in the tremendous conflict in which we are engaged against the slave-power and the sin of slaveholding in this country. Recent events have renewed the assaults against us, and exasperated our enemies more bitterly than ever; but the very fury of their indignation shews that they have felt our blows: it is the truth that cuts and exasperates. By the blessing of God we hope to be maintained in this conflict with his word against the great reigning and remorseless sin of our country, though the struggle has aroused such enmity and power of opposition against us, such concentrated and repeated efforts to destroy us, to drive me from my pulpit, and terrify and dissuade my own church from sustaining me, that, again and again it has looked as if our enemies would certainly be successful. But hitherto hath the Lord helped us, and thus far He has brought us, and enabled us already to accomplish something; and we hope, in his mercy, still to be upheld and enabled to continue the plain and pungent application of his word against the iniquity, that not only is crushing the millions of the enslaved, but threatens to] destroy our own liberties, and is fearfully corrupting our religion. Just now it is our remonstrances and reproaches against the silence and complicity of the church and ministry

in this sin that provoke the greatest storm of indignation, and we are assailed and condemned as slanderers of our brethren, for telling the plain truth respecting the sanction of this iniquity by so many of them.

"But I need not enter into this detail. In answer to your very kind inquiries, permit me to state that we very much desire to raise a fund of some twenty-five thousand dollars to meet the ground-rent of our church edifice, which is fifteen hundred dollars annually; and if we could increase that fund to forty or fifty thousand, so as to make the church, as far as practicable, a free church, this would be unspeakably desirable. We are not without hope of accomplishing this object, between the friends of our cause in America and England. But whatever aid we can obtain is, at the present time, greatly needed. It is a time of trial, a time of most malignant, unscrupulous, exasperated opposition, and of unsparing effort utterly to destroy us. Whatever support now comes to us we hail as a merciful providential interposition, by which we may be 'tided' over the present bar and breakers, and carried into deep and secure water. Accept for myself and my beloved church our heartfelt thanks for your sympathy and kindness, and believe me,

"Most respectfully and truly yours,
"GEORGE B. CHEEVER."

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE REV. DR. CHEEVER.

In the last Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, we reprinted a speech of Wendell Phillips, on the position of the Rev. Dr. Cheever. Its appearance in our columns having called forth comment, we wish to say, in explanation, that we reproduced Mr. Phillips' speech, as a mere item of news, under the impression that the friends of the anti-slavery cause in this country would be interested in learning the views entertained by the ultra-abolitionists of Boston, associated with Mr. Garrison, of the Rev. Dr. Cheever's position regarded from their stand-point. We are in nowise committed to those views, nor do we consider we have any right to come between Mr. Phillips and the Rev. Dr. Cheever as a partisan of either. Our own sentiments will be found expressed in the resolution which is printed in the present Number of the *Reporter*, and we may be allowed to express regret that the republication of Mr. Phillips' discourse in our columns should have led any of our friends to suppose that we concurred in the strictures it contained.